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"Whilst we describe, however, the advantages of standing armies, we must not conceal the danger. "These properties of their constitution—the soldiery being separated, in a great degree, from the rest of "the community, their being closely linked amongst themselves by habits of society and subordination, "and the dependency of the whole chain upon the will and favour of the prince—however essential they "may be to the purposes for which armies are kept up, give them an aspect in nowise favourable to public "liberty. The danger, however, is diminished by maintaining, upon all occasions, as much alliance of "interest, and as much intercourse of sentiment, between the military part of the nation and the other "people, as are consistent with the union and discipline of an army."——PALEY: Moral and Political Philosophy; Book VI. Chap. 12.

A PLAN

FOR THE FORMING AN EFFICIENT AND PERMANENT ARMY.

INTRODUCTION.——Many have been the occasions upon which, from different motives perhaps, different persons have endeavoured to throw blame upon me for having, in a manner so unqualified, condemned the present military system (if, indeed, it be worthy of that name, or of any other conveying the idea of something resulting from fixed principles), without having proposed any other system as a substitute for it; and, upon this ground, a correspondent, in page 412 of the present Number, who is, I think, more kind in his manner than in his matter, revives this subject of censure, for the effect of which censure he appears to consider the present time peculiarly favourable. But, as the "heaven-born minister" used to say with respect to *his* audience, I am in the hearing of my readers when I say, without fear of contradiction, that I have, upon scarcely any one occasion, ever condemned the constitution of our present military force, without, at the same time, pointing out what appeared to me to be proper to be adopted in its place. In doing this, I have, indeed, confined myself, in most cases, to general terms; to the statement of principles; but, with those who read the Register, that must, I think, be regarded as quite sufficient to protect me against the blame of which we have been speaking; for, the principles being once laid down, the detail is a mere matter of professional arrangement. Now, however, when every man in the kingdom is so anxiously waiting to hear *precisely what is to be done* for the purpose of obtaining an efficient and permanent army; now, when the minister at the head of the war-department is so keenly pursued and so hardly pressed for an explicit declaration of his intentions relative thereto, at such a moment, though I think the impatience of some impertinent, and, of all, unreasonable in the extreme, especially when the shortness of the time be compared with the magnitude of the subject; though I think it perfectly justifiable and proper in him to refuse to gratify such impertinence, and such childish impatience; yet, with respect to myself, I have no desire, and ought to have no desire, to suspend an ample declaration of my opinions, which, compared to his, are of trifling importance.——As, from the Plan which I am about to submit to the public, being in the form of a letter, addressed to a friend, it might, were I to observe a silence upon the subject, be concluded, that this is the Plan that MR. WINDHAM intends, or wishes, or has intended, or wished, to put in execution, it is proper that I should, before I proceed any further, explicitly declare, that there is not, that I know of, and that there never has been, any intention or wish, on the part of that gentleman, to adopt this plan, or to see it adopted; and, that, if he has, as it is probable he has, been induced to take the trouble to read it, I am almost (and I might spare even the *almost*) entirely ignorant with regard to his opinion thereof. The advantage to have been derived from leaving this fact as a matter of doubt, will, when the weight justly attached to a supposed approbation from such a person be considered, be evident to every one; but, it is an advantage which justice to Mr. Windham commands me to forego, and of which, I am, besides, desirous not to avail myself; because I wish the Plan to come before the public without any other recommendation than that of its own bare merits, however small they may appear to be.——In speaking to the person, to whom the following Letter was (more than a month ago) addressed, it was unnecessary, in the preliminary observations, to express myself in a manner quite so full, as I should have expressed myself had I been speaking to the public; and, therefore, I must beg leave to supply the deficiency by adding to the length of this INTRODUCTION

——The reader will not have forgotten, that, in speaking of what ought to be done for the purpose of effecting the great object in view, I have always given it as my decided opinion, 1st, that, there ought to be, as far as related to the nature of the engagement of the soldier, but *one sort of army*; 2dly, that that army should be of an *efficient and permanent* description; and, 3dly, that it should be constituted upon principles that would render it efficient and permanent, thereunto adding the important and most desirable property of being *necessarily innoxious as to the liberties of the people*; that, to express myself in the words of the admired writer, from whom I have borrowed my motto, its constitution should be such as "to maintain, "upon all occasions, as much alliance of "interest, and as much intercourse of sentiment, between the military part of the "nation and the other orders of the people, "as are consistent with the union and discipline of an army." Upon the two first heads I have nothing now to add; and, as to the third, a few remarks upon the opinions of the enlightened, the scandalously neglected, and the now lamented PALEY may suffice.——After describing, in the former part of the chapter referred to, the many great advantages which a standing army has over a temporary military force, he comes to speak, in the words chosen for my motto, of the single disadvantage, namely, the possible danger to public liberty; but this danger, he says, is diminished by the means described in the passage just quoted. *How these means are to be obtained*; how that alliance of interest and that intercourse of sentiment, which he justly represents as so essential to the great purpose in view; how these are to be obtained and insured he does not state, in a manner, at least, so full and satisfactory as one could have wished. "For which pur-"pose" (the purpose of maintaining an alliance of interest between the military and the rest of the people) "*officers* of the ar-"my, upon whose disposition towards the "common-wealth a great deal may depend, "should be taken from the principal families of the country, and at the same time "also be encouraged to establish in it families of their own, as well as be admitted "to seats in the senate, to hereditary distinctions, and to all the civil honours and "privileges that are compatible with their "profession; which circumstances of "connection and situation will give them such "a share in the general rights of the people, and so engage their inclinations on "the side of public liberty, as to afford a "reasonable security, that they cannot be "bought by any promises of personal ag-"grandizement, to assist in the execution "of measures, which might enslave their "posterity, their kindred and their coun-"try." When the Letter, which I am now introducing to the reader, was written, I had in my mind no recollection of this passage of PALEY; and, I was not a little pleased upon discovering the perfect coincidence, as to principle, between him and myself, upon this very interesting subject. But, if this reasoning be sound, and that it is I think no one will deny, with respect to the *officers* of the army, is it not equally sound with respect to the *men*? PALEY wrote at a time very different indeed from the present; his opinions applied to a state of Europe and of England when a comparatively small military force was necessary in this country; if he had written with the present awful scene before him, with the present difficulties of collecting together men to serve in the army, I leave the reader to determine, whether the principles he has laid down would not have carried him much further. He would now have perceived, that, from the great number of officers necessary to command the army, the tie growing out of mere family connection would have been of little avail; that, as to the admission of officers to seats in the parliament and to hereditary honours, it could not have been rendered sufficiently extensive to make it a motive powerful enough for the purpose he had in view; and, that, in short, new rewards, a new set of motives, not only of attachment to public liberty, but of love for the military service, must have been created in order to obtain an army of the description of that which he wished to obtain. For my part, I am of opinion, that, if the other motives which I should propose, were created, it would be quite unnecessary to admit, during their actual service, military officers into parliament, where, to say nothing of several other weighty objections, they cannot possibly attend, without a neglect of that duty for the performance of which they become military officers. The members of parliament are chosen for the purpose of assisting at the making of laws and at inquiries relative to the disposition of the public money; therefore, to pass over the constitutional view of the matter, how can one reconcile to reason the choosing of men who are, at any moment, liable to be sent out of the kingdom, and who, in all probability, must pass, or ought to pass, more than one half of their time, beyond the seas? Yet, in the present state of things, in the present want of motives to a military life, in the present predominance of trade, in the

present preponderance of every other profession over that of the military, in point of civil and political advantages, it would be hard indeed to shut the doors of parliament against military men.——I have now before me the plans of two writers, which plans have been recently published, for the forming of a complete system of military defence: the first, who puts no name to his work, addresses himself to Mr. Windham, in a pamphlet "ON THE PUBLIC DEFENCE," published for the author by SKELTON at Southampton; the other is MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, who, after a dedicatory address to Mr. Fox, proceeds, in a very elaborate and ingenious performance, entitled "ENGLAND'S ÆGIS, "OR THE MILITARY ENERGIES OF THE "CONSTITUTION," calls upon us, to awaken the spirit of ancient times, and to depend for our defence upon those exertions, which a love of the country ought to inspire, and which, were his plan adopted, he expresses his confidence it would inspire. The former of these writers strongly and ably represents the magnitude of our danger; he describes the nature and amount of the enemy's force; he contends that no force but that of a regular one is at all competent to our defence; he shows by an argument of experience the utter impracticability of raising a sufficient force by the means hitherto employed; and, the only means, that, in his opinion, remain are those of mere compulsion, as far, at least, as relates to the *raising* of men. "The legislature," says he, "must "*lay its hand upon the people*; and, the le- "vy must be immediate, *personal*, and *com-* "*pulsory*." To attempt, in the short compass that I have before me, to present the reader with an analysis of a work so full of information and of thought as that of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, would be to deceive the reader and to do great injustice to the laborious, the ingenious, and public-spirited writer. He does not exclude the establishment of a *regular* military force; but, his reliance for efficient, permanent and *safe* defence, is upon the hearts and the arms of the people, animated by a love of their country, a love founded in their feeling of the super-excellence of its constitution, insuring to them the enjoyment of that freedom, and of all those blessings attendant upon freedom, which no other country enjoys. "Without freedom," says he, "complete military defence is only "the evidence of complete subjugation; and, "as the Batavians can tell you, my country- "men, the more triumphant the success, "the more hopeless the condition of the de- "fended. But, would we know how free- "dom and defence are to go hand in hand, "and how civil liberty is ever to gain "strength with the increase of military "power, then that constitution, which is "the table of our duties, the record of our "rights, and the depository of our liberties, "must be the object of our study and the "guide of our steps."——Upon a proposition for the government's "*laying its hand* "*upon the people*" it must, surely, be unnecessary to say any thing; or, if it be at all necessary, one may content oneself with asking the author of the proposition, what could be the *object* of a *defence* to be effected by such means? *What* he thinks that a people, so "*laid hands on*," would have *to defend*? Whether, in speaking of the defence of *the nation*, we are to consider the *people* as not at all interested in the result? In short, and to make but one question of it, what, in his opinion, Buonaparté could do to the people *more* than "*lay his hand*" upon them? Until this question be answered, it would be loss of time to attempt to reason with this writer, to whose motives, however, I am inclined to attach nothing calling for blame. As to the principles, generally speaking, upon which the plan of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT is founded, they are such as every man, who wishes to see the energies of the constitution exerted to the best of all ends, must agree in. But, though the Major has evidently bestowed much time and thought upon the subject, has he duly considered the great change which has now taken place in this country as well as in Europe? Has he duly considered what is that species of force which we shall have to resist? Has he duly considered how much depends upon celerity in preparing our means of resistance? Has he duly considered what are the real causes of the state of decline in which he finds the constitutional energies of England? Has he duly reflected upon the *where-about*; if we would obtain success, we must *begin* in effecting the restoration of those energies? And, which is, perhaps, all I am entitled to ask of him, does he, upon a calm view of all the circumstances of our situation, not think that some such plan as that now proposed by me, would, under these circumstances, be likely to render the defence of the country efficient, without endangering the liberties of the people or the constitutional prerogatives of the crown? I ask him, and not by way of rhetorical figure, but really with a view of obtaining an answer, whether he does not think, that, while my plan would not fail "to give strength to "civil liberty at the same time that it in- "creased military power," it would not be more likely to be attended with immediate

effect, than the plan which he has proposed? He will observe, that I take the state of things as it *now is*; I view the nation loaded with a debt demanding 27 millions annually to pay the interest; I see 2 or 3 millions annually raised for the purpose of paying tax-gatherers and other dependents upon the ministry of the day; I perceive the existence of a trading and fiscal influence overshadowing and over bearing every thing; and, my object is to aid in the cure of these evils, by the very means that I provide for an efficient defence of the country and of the throne.——I am not so wedded to this or to any other project as to be deaf to the voice of reason; and, if objections are made to it, I shall give them my attention and shall not fail to communicate them to my readers. But, of one thing all reasonable men seem to be throroughly convinced, namely that some change is absolutely necessary; some great change; something new and something great; something capable of producing a powerful effect upon the minds of the people; something even, that shall produce a renovation in the public mind with regard to military service and national defence. *Money* has been tried in all the shapes that it can be presented; and, I am, for my part, perfectly satisfied, that *compulsory enrolment*, supposing it to succeed, would, if the day of trial came, prove to be much worse than nothing. We are now arrived at that point, when a mere hired army will no longer suffice; when we want the hearts of the people wherewith to preserve the independence of the country; and, to make a successful appeal to this excellent and never-failing mass of means, what can be better calculated than the plan I propose? England, fortunate in her local situation, in the form and natural tendency of her constitution of government, in the industry, the honesty, the bodily and mental capacities, the hardihood, and the bravery of her sons, has, notwithstanding the present unfavourable and even ominous appearances, many solid advantages over her enemy, all covered as he is with the brilliancy of war and of triumph. She has as I have recently heard it well remarked, a settled government; he has none. She has laws and institutions which, at the most, want only amendment, or reform; he has neither laws nor institutions that are as yet held in habitual reverence. She has an order of things that depends not for existence upon the life, or the lives of any man, or any number of men; the order of things which he has founded hangs, perhaps, upon a single life. If she be cut off from the continent of Europe, she is, by the same means, relieved from all the burden of dependence upon foreign aid; while he, in proportion as he extends the arm of his power, multiplies the object of his attention and the chances of demolishing the rampart, by which he is surrounding himself. The world has never yet witnessed a long duration of harmony amongst numerous contiguous states, more especially when held by sovereigns connected by ties of consanguinity; and, therefore, even from the recent disasters, even from the general overthrow of Europe, there breaks forth a prospect of future hope to England. But, to be able to profit from the events that time may bring with him, we must have the wisdom and the virtue to put ourselves in a condition to wait for his arrival. We must now place no dependence on the immediate success either of war or of peace. Whether at war or peace, the enemy will seek our subjugation; and, therefore, to meet this his settled purpose, we must be equally steady, persevering, and patient, in our plans and our execution. No man should now throw away his time in devising any means, whether for external or internal effect, which are not, in their very nature durable, which have not in them consequences of twenty years or of fifty years to come. The man, whose mind stretches not forward beyond the days of his probable life, is now fit neither for statesman nor legislator. Before the preservation of the liberties and of the renown of England all views of personal agrandizement, of family interest, and of party triumph, must now vanish like the pleasures of the world before the awful approach of eternity, or, we may indeed anticipate the disgraceful hour when we shall be numbered amongst the slaves of France, having, for our sole privilege, the conferring upon our children the infamous entail. With such reflections in his mind (and what mind is there unvisited by some such reflections?), where is the man that can hesitate to make sacrifices for his country's defence? And, where, then, is the man who can grudge to its defenders a share in its privileges, its immunities, and its marks of distinction, especially when the request comes so strongly supported by the reason and the justice of the case?——With an anxiety proportioned to the apprehensions whence it has arisen, I now commit my Plan to the cool and impartial consideration of the public, beseeching them to try it upon its own merits, and to discard from their minds, during the perusal at least, whatever degree

of error they may, as to other matters, be disposed to attribute to the opinions of its author.

Parson's Green, Fulham, 20th Feb. 1806.

SIR;——The attention with which you have, upon different occasions, listened to my representations upon the subject of the regular army, encourages me to submit to you, in a more methodical way, my opinions as to what ought now to be done, in order to obtain an efficient, safe, and permanent military force, for offensive as well as for defensive operations. As to the Volunteers and the Militia, as I cannot bring myself to regard either of them as being of any thing more than a mere temporary nature, I shall trouble you with nothing respecting them, except with an expression of my earnest hope, that, at all events, the ballot, the terrific, the disgust-creating ballot, will be, at once, gotten rid of; for, until this be done, the military life must always be looked upon with hatred.

The measures, which I am about to propose, would certainly cause a great change, not only in the character of the army, but also in that of the whole nation. But is not a great change necessary, absolutely necessary, to the efficiency of the former and to the safety and honour of the latter? Is not this the very thing we want? Have not little temporary expedients been long enough upon trial? In short, if we do not come to the consideration of this subject with minds deeply penetrated with the truths, that the state of Europe has undergone a great change; that our enemy must, in the common course of things, subdue all that is not military; and that England must become a really military nation, or must become, at no distant day, a dependance of France; if we do not come to the consideration with minds thus penetrated, we shall, I am fully convinced, act wisely to keep aloof from it altogether. But, if such be the impression upon our minds, the only question, left for us to decide, appears to be this: *How is the nation to be rendered military?* How is it to be rendered truly military; military, not in shew, not in the abundance of red coats; not from terror and merely upon the spur of the occasion: but, military in spirit, a spirit arising out of a permanent system, founded on principles of sound philosophy, interwoven with the civil and political institutions of the country, and, from its very nature, obviously tending to support, from all internal as well as external dangers, the just prerogatives of the king and the due rights and privileges of the people?

That this most desirable object is not to be accomplished by any of those means, which have heretofore been employed, no man will now venture to deny. These means have been of three descriptions: *fraud, money*, and *compulsion*. The plan, which I am about to submit to you, has in it nothing of either. Its main principle is, the exaltation of the profession of arms; the raising of that profession to a level, at least, with trade and agriculture, in point of respectability in society. I am aware, that, with those whose minds are filled with the notion, that national power is only another term for national wealth, that this wealth is to be obtained and secured only by a continued extension of trade and a continued improvement in agriculture, and that these, again, are to be secured only by the rights, immunities, and advantages, which await, now almost exclusively, the successful exertion of trading and agricultural ingenuity and industry; with all those whose minds are thus filled, I am aware, that there will be much to overcome. But, to all such persons the answer is: will you not let the profession of arms share with you in the privileges and immunities which the nation has to bestow? If you will not, you will have no army, wherewith to protect you in the enjoyment of your own; you will have no permanent force, a consciousness of the existence of which will enable you to lay your heads down in safety. Long enough have you been tendering your money; in all manner of ways you have found it to fail; and, now, after the expenditure of millions upon millions for the avowed purpose of providing for your safety, you proclaim from your palace of commerce, that the question at issue is, whether you shall remain as you are, or become the slaves of Frenchmen. Another set of objectors will, perhaps, still reason upon the old ground of prejudice against a standing army. But, not to dilate upon the absurdity of applying the maxims of a century and a half ago to the totally-altered circumstances of the present day; not to dilate upon the greater absurdity of objections to a standing army (upon the score of danger to public liberty) from those who approve of the present system, according to which the soldier is cut off for life from civil society, and is rendered perfectly hopeless, except solely as to what he may be able to obtain from the crown; not to dilate upon the absurdity of these objections, it will soon appear, from the bare statement of my plan, that it would be to suppose an utter perversion of nature in the soldier, to fear, that, in consequence

of his enlistment into the army, his attachment to the rights and liberties of the people should not be, I will not say not diminished, but that it should not be increased. The army, as it at present stands, is made up of persons entirely divested of all those prospects, all those hopes, all those fellings, which bind men to their country. "*The "Liberties of England,*" which, in every battle, ought to be the signal for the onset, is an empty sound, nay a galling insult, to those, and to those only, who have abandoned their homes, and who are destined to spend their days and to shed their blood for the preservation of those liberties.

In addition to these preliminary observations, some others will be made with reference to particular parts of the plan. You will perceive, that, for the sake of avoiding complication, I have spoken only of the army; but, there can be no doubt, that the navy must also feel the cherishing hand of the government. You will also perceive, that, as to the Commissioned Officers I have said but little. But, the *principles* once established, the application of them in detail will be matter of very easy accomplishment.

I. AS TO PAY, that of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers is quite high enough; and, in case of a great advance in prices, arising either from the depreciation of money, or from scarcity of produce, a specific additional grant, for a limited time only, should be made. And, with regard to men, thereafter enlisted, a diminution might at any time, be made, if rendered politic either by the abundance of recruits, or by a rise in the value of money.

II. TERM OF YEARS to be the condition of enlistment; each term of five years, and three terms in the whole. The service of fifteen years will, in general, be found quite as long as is useful; and, by ending at fifteen years, you will throw back into society a much greater number of men accustomed to the use of arms, and, upon occasions of emergency, able to be eminently useful, than could be so thrown back, if the service were continued to twenty years. The force embodied would, also, be much more efficient; for, if we take the average age of enlistment at 25 years, we shall find, that the age of forty is the time, especially after hard military duty, when a man becomes unfit for the endurance of great bodily fatigue, and particularly for very rapid movements; and, besides, the other parts of the plan will render a very long service unnecessary, as it will ensure you an ever-teeming source of young men.

III. PARENTS of Soldiers. As one great obstacle to the entrance of men into a military life arises from the remonstrances and lamentations of parents, about to be bereft of the probable aid of their children; as this is generally a powerful tie, and is always strong in proportion to the goodness of the heart upon which it operates, it should be a main object with us, not to weaken the tie, not to enfeeble the filial feelings of the soldier, but, to enable him to gratify those feelings, and that, too, by the very act which severs him, though for ever, from his parents and his home. To this end, and for the purpose of establishing the principle, that, to every mother who has borne and to every father who has reared a son ready to venture his life in the service of his country, some mark of that country's gratitude is due: for the establishing of this just, this high, this valour-inspiring principle, as well as for the purpose of removing a great obstacle to enlistment, I would allow to the parents, or the survivor of them, whatever might be their pecuniary circumstances, 3 pounds a year for each son that they, or either of them, might have serving in the army, to be paid out of the king's exchequer, without deduction of any sort, or upon any account whatever, taking care that it should be duly paid to them at their homes. In case of the son being of illegitimate birth, the mother should have the allowance; but, if no mother alive, there should be no allowance to the father. These allowances I would not suffer to work a diminution of the claim which the parties might otherwise have to parish or other relief; and a heavy penalty should be imposed upon all attempts of parish-officers or others to thwart, in this respect, the intentions of the law. The allowance to parents should continue during the actual service of the son. If the son die, or be killed, in the service, or, if he serve out the three terms, the allowance should then be settled on them for their lives, or for the life of the longest liver. But, if the son desert, or be dismissed for bad behaviour, or quit the service before the

expiration of the third term, then the allowance to the parents should cease, the reasonableness of which will be seen, when we come to contemplate the advantages with which, in case of good behaviour, the son is restored to them, in prime of life, at the end of his first or his second term. But, as a further mark of distinction, and more firmly to establish the great principle upon which I proceed, that the mother who has borne and the father who has reared a son for the service of the country is entitled to its especial indulgence and protection, I would give to the parent or parents of every soldier the faculty of becoming, in virtue solely of their son's service, a parishioner or parishioners in any parish immediately adjoining that to which they may belong at the time of his enlistment; and this right they should enjoy thereafter for their whole lives. I would, besides, restore, with respect to them, and for their whole lives, the spirit of the famous and cherishing act of *Forma Pauperis*, making the sum of qualification 50 pounds instead of five, which, when the depreciation of money is considered, is much about what it ought to be, in order to place these meritorious persons upon the same footing that all the people of England were placed upon in the reign of Henry the Seventh. The cost of this allowance to parents will hardly be objected to by those who reflect, that, supposing the army to consist of 200,000 men, every individual of whom has a father or a mother alive, the amount would be only 600,000 annually; a sum which is a mere trifle when compared with the annual charge on account of apprehending deserters, on account of depots for lodging and guarding recruits, and on account of remuneration to crimps and others belonging to the odious establishment for the entrapping of men; and, as it it were expressly, for the exciting of a hatred and a loathing of the military service. Think, too, of the effect of having, scattered over the country 200,000 fathers and mothers, deriving, and known to be deriving, benefit and honour for the faithful military services of their sons! Proud of this honour; boasting, instead of lamenting, that their sons are soldiers; while those sons, at whatever distance from their homes, and even in the hour of death, would have the grateful recollection, that, by their services, they had added to the comforts and had exalted the character of the parents from whom they sprang. As things now stand, the common saying of parents, even in the most wretched state of existence is, that they "would rather see their son clad in a shroud than in a red coat;" and the son, if, perchance, he be suffered ever to see their face again, sneaks home and away again in the dark, unless he be able to procure a dress, wherewith to disguise the unfortunate fact, that he is a soldier, which fact is sure to make him an object either of compassion or of scorn. This is the primary cause why we have not such an army as we can at all times safely rely upon; and, never shall we, never can we, have such an army, while the same engagement that binds the son breaks the heart of the mother.

IV. REWARDS. Proceeding always upon that principle so congenial to honourable minds, that distinctions in society, and not mere money, is the motive that is wanted to fill the ranks of the army, I would propose the following rewards for faithful military services.—For the 1st. Term, duly completed, the man should have a right of settlement, merely as a parishioner, in any parish in the United Kingdom, without a single exception. In the like extent, he should have a right of pursuing any trade or calling, whether as journeyman or master. He should (subject to the local laws and customs as to degree) have a right of common and forest, in any parish where he may be settled, though the nature of his tenure would, according to the existing laws and customs, give him no such right. He should be exempted from serving on juries, from the services of all civil and parish-offices, and from all offices growing out of the revenue, unless he chose to perform any such duties, in which case, as well as in all others, his military service should work no injury to the claim thereunto which he would otherwise have. For his whole life he should have the benefit of the act of *Forma Pauperis* as revived in spirit for the protection of his parents. And, finally, he should have a right to kill game (subject to the laws upon that head), or, in other words, should be placed upon the footing of a mere "qualified man," within the limits only

of the parish where he was born. Of the reasonableness, of the justice, of granting this privilege, more will be said hereafter, when it will have been seen that the men born in towns will have an equivalent for it, and, the force of example being duly considered, the policy of sending men, as far as may be, back to enjoy their privileges in the places where they were born will not need to be dwelt upon.——For the 2d. TERM the man should acquire all the rights and immunities, before mentioned, with the following additions; to wit: all the privileges and capacities of whatsoever nature or degree appertaining to the corporation of any town or place wherein he may have been born. A right of common and of forest within the limits of the parish, the church of which shall be nearest to that of the parish in which he may, at any time, reside. If born in a place which sends burgesses or citizens to parliament, he should have a vote in their election; and, if not born in any such place, he should have a vote for the Knight of the Shire in which he was born; so that every man, having duly completed his military service of ten years, should, after his return to civil life, have a claim to and enjoy the elective franchise. And, lastly, his right of killing game (under the laws as aforesaid) should extend as far, and in like manner, as his right of common and forest, with this difference, that the latter applies to the parish of his settlement, whereas the former applies to the parish in which he was born.——For the 3D. TERM the man should acquire all the rights and immunities given to the second term, and with this extension and addition, that he should have a right of common and of forest in any parish, and in all the parishes, immediately adjoining that in which he may be settled; that, to the other exemptions, should be added that of an exemption from the operation of impressments of waggons, carts and horses, for the public military service, except in cases of invasion; that, as to his corporate rights and capacities, they should extend to any corporation in the kingdom where he may have been a year settled; that, as to the elective franchise, he should be put upon the footing of a territorial freeholder, and, if born in an election borough or city, should, of course, have a vote for the county where he was born also; and, that, as to his right of killing game, it should (subject as aforesaid) extend to the utmost limits of all the parishes immediately adjoining that in which he was born.

V. RELIGION. There should be no distinction as to religious creeds, except that it should be provided that none but Christians, in the common acceptation of the word, should be admitted. An oath, merely of fidelity to the King, should be taken upon the Holy Evangelists.

VI. ALL ALIENS, having faithfully completed one Term, should be considered as being, to all intents and purposes, subjects of the King, and should be rewarded accordingly. Having no birth-place in the realm, they should be allowed to fix upon a place for the enjoyment of privileges arising from birth. No allowance should be made to the parents of Aliens; and all Blacks and Mulattoes should be carefully shut out of the army.

VII. INVALIDS. For men disabled or worn out in the service, an annual provision should be made, and punctually paid, without bringing them from their homes, equal in amount to the annual full pay and clothing of the private soldier upon actual service; and such men should, besides, enjoy the several rights and exemptions allotted to the several terms, during, or at the end of either of which, their disability longer to serve may have produced their discharge from the service. In case of discharge on account of disability in the son, the parents, of course, would be entitled to the allowance for life.

VIII. SOLDIERS KILLED in battle, or dying, from whatever cause, while in actual service abroad, should have, in the Church or Church-yard (the latter if possible) of the parish where they were born, a stone erected to their memory; stating the names of their parents, the time of their birth, the length of their service, and the time and place of their death; and the change in this case, as well as in all others arising out of this code, should be defrayed out of the King's Exchequer.

IX. FORFEITURES. A soldier who deserted should (besides being subject to banishment, or other lighter punishment, but never to whipping), from the day of his return, begin his terms anew; and, after his quitting the army, a conviction of treason, misprision of

treason, or of felony, should work, for ever, a forfeiture of all the rights and immunities acquired by his military services. And, in the parents of soldiers, a like conviction, for crimes committed by themselves or either of them, should, for ever, work a forfeiture of all their claims, arising from the military services of their children. But this forfeiture would take place, of course, only on account of conviction in consequence of crimes committed after the entrance of their sons into the army, the provision, in no case, being made to have a retrospective effect.

Such are the principal parts of the Plan, which I have long had in contemplation for the forming of an efficient, cheap, honourable, and perfectly safe military force for this kingdom. Much would, of course, require to be said with regard to rewards and distinctions for the commissioned officers. It is easy to conceive, that, with an army like this in existence, loan-jobbers, Jew-brokers, whether native or alien, that contractors and pursers, would stand a very poor chance of becoming lords or baronets; and, that barkers of Moorfields, though with millions of money in their pockets, would not easily become knights. But, this is all a matter of degree and of detail; and, if the principles, as embraced in the above-proposed part of the plan, be rejected, it will be useless to take up your time with any thing naturally growing out of them. There are, however, some things, which, as it is possible that they may be regarded as omissions, I shall, for the purpose chiefly of saving you trouble, here notice.

And, first, you will perceive, that I contemplate no sort of provision for the wives or the children or the widows of soldiers. This, at the first glance, appears hard, if not unjust. But, we are here proposing a permanent system; we are considering what is the most likely to ensure the safety and the greatness of the nation; and, though a natural feeling of compassion may arise in behalf of soldiers' wives and children, we shall, upon due reflection, find, that in whatever way a provision for them may be made to arise out of military services, such provision must necessarily operate as a premium for marriage and for population, than which, independent of the military consideration, which is, however, very important, nothing can be more contrary to all sound principles of political œconomy. The institution at Chelsea, ascribed to Mr. Windham and the Duke of York, and, in itself considered, so amiable, and discovering so tender a regard for the army, I must, nevertheless, regard as having been determined on without due reflection as to the probable, nay the inevitable, consequences. It must operate as an encouragement for the breeding of beggars, just as the Foundling Hospital, and all the fine sermons preached there, operate as an encouragement for the begetting of bastards. How great is the nuisance of women and children in the army, how miserable the life of those women and children, may be asked of those who have been upon service abroad, or who have even seen a regiment in camp, or moving from place to place, at home; and, we may rest assured, that if our men of war were but tolerably well furnished with women and children, we never should have heard of battles like those of Copenhagen and Trafalgar. Besides, there is nothing unjust in the omission. The soldier will see that no provision is made for wife, child, or widow; no man will be forced from his home; and, the parishes will not have to accuse the military code of inviting husbands to leave them burdened with starving families.

Another omission will, perhaps, appear in the not having made provision for the advance of pay, in the second and third terms of service. But, after full consideration, I have been induced to reject all distinctions of this sort; first, because money, in the hands of a soldier, beyond what is absolutely necessary for his subsistence, is not only unnecessary to his good, but is really mischievous; and secondly, because such distinctions must give rise to invidious feelings amongst men, whose rank and whose duties are exactly the same.

As to a distinction in the rewards bestowed, after service, I once thought, that a man who had served a certain time as a serjeant, for instance, might, with propriety, be rewarded with privileges and immunities somewhat higher than those allotted to men, who had never attained that rank; but, upon further reflection, this does not appear either just or politic. Not just, because the promotion to the rank of either corporal or serjeant, though, generally speaking, it argues superior capacity, is, of itself, during the time of service, attended with a competent reward, in ease, comfort, respectability and emolument. Not politic, because promotion arises, in many, not to say in all cases, from the circumstances of advantageous figure, engaging address, good voice, or an understanding in reading, writing, and arithmetic; all of them, in their different degrees, estimable, but none of

them proofs of intrinsic merit, and not all of them together, to be, for one moment, placed in competition with the great virtue which we are seeking to inculcate, to encourage, and to cherish; namely, a *disposition to serve*; which, upon reflection, I am sure you will be convinced is not to be cherished by holding out a premium for scholarship. A disposition to serve, is what we want; and to obtain it, there is no other rational scheme than for the nation to measure its rewards by the length of service, and by no other standard whatever.

After what has been said, I really do flatter myself, that no solid ground of objection can be made to the principles of this plan; nevertheless, my anxiety for its adoption will not permit me to close this letter without offering a few additional observations. Upon the doing away of all distinctions as to religious sects, for which distinctions we have paid and are paying so dearly; upon the admission of aliens, when we see so many Jews and jobbers daily naturalized in order to enable them to retain the blood they have sucked from our veins; upon the making of a competent provision for invalids, instead of suffering them to starve in the streets, a shocking disgrace to the nation, and a most awful warning for men to shun those ranks wherein the privilege to beg has been earned: upon these parts of the plan I shall add nothing, because, where any serious objection can be raised to them there cannot be the most distant hope of accomplishing any change worthy of the attention of a cabinet for a single hour. The privilege of voting for members of parliament and that of killing game, are all, for the granting of which, I think it necessary to offer any thing in the shape of an argument. As to the former, the addition which this plan would make to the number of persons exercising the elective franchise, will not be very great, and, whatever it may be, it will certainly not be urged as an objection by those who still feel an alarm at a standing army, as the means of destroying the liberties of the people, by giving to the monarchical and aristocratical branches, too much power over that of the democracy. Indeed, to give the soldiers this privilege appears to be absolutely necessary, in order to make them feel, that they have rights in common with their fellow subjects; in order to make them feel, that that country which they have to fight for, is theirs as well as others; in order to make them feel, that they are not mere mercenaries, that they are not selling their blood for the protection of more happy and more highly priviledged mortals. And, in itself, what can be more just or more reasonable? for, what can be more unjust, or more unreasonable, than that the elective franchise should be acquired by seven years appreticeship to the hammering of a lap-stone or the driving of a needle, or by the gaining in trade wherewith to purchase a cottage of 40 shillings a year, while, to the service of ten years in a military capacity, venturing health and life in a thousand ways, such acquirement is denied? It is not merely a privation to the soldier; it is a punishment for his service; for, as in the case of free-boroughs, he is deprived of the privilege which he would have had, if he had remained at home and served an apprenticeship. And, while this continues, while there is a bounty, the most tempting of all bounties too, held out for staying at home, and plodding along, in peace and safety, in pursuit of pelf, is it not madness to think that, generally speaking, any but the profligate, or the miserable will enter the army? And, is it not still greater madness to hope, that they will be faithful and zealous soldiers? Am I told, that the armies of France are formed without the granting of any such privileges? I answer, that, in France, there are no such privileges to grant; there are no privileges or immunities whereof a military life can deprive a man; every man, soldier or not, is, in these respects, upon a footing; but, great care is taken to give the soldier, and the parents of soldiers too, favours and marks of distinction; and, without this, we may be well assured, that the military power of France would not, at this hour, have been an object of terror to England. In France, the soldiers are at the absolute command of the Sovereign; but, they themselves are the masters of every body else. All that I wish to see in England, is, to place the soldier upon the same footing, in point of rights and immunities, with his fellow subjects in general.

With respect to the right, or rather the permission, to kill game, a privilege of little value in itself, but become most highly esteemed by all the people of this country, it arose, you must well remember, not out of success in trade, not out of acquisitions of wealth, not out of the inheritance or the occupancy of lands, but, out of military services, performed by the Nobles, the Knights and Esquires, to whom the King granted permission to kill part of his game. That this assumption, on the part of the monarch, of the sole proprietorship of wild animals, might be too great a stretch of the

kingly power, too bold a deviation from the law of nature, which gives to every man as free an use of wild animals as it does of the air and of the water, may be a question; but, there can be no question, that, when the Sovereign's permission, granted in consequence of services, for the defence and honour of the realm, has degenerated into a right to be claimed, exclusively or almost exclusively, by those, who have been able, no matter how, to obtain a certain portion of wealth deposited in house or in land; when this is become the state of the case, there can be no question as to the justice, not to say the policy, of restoring a part, at least, of the much esteemed privilege to that service, as a reward to which alone, it was, at first, most justly and most wisely confined. Every vender of ribbons or of pins, who has accumulated the sum of about two or three thousand pounds, and who feels a disposition for the chase, lays out his money in a box and a few acres, and thereupon he swaggers about with his gun and his dogs, in any and every parish and county in the kingdom: and, in the name of justice, of reason, of common sense, I ask, shall not the man who has served his country, who has ventured his life for the safety of this same esquire and haberdasher, have a right to kill a hare within the narrow precincts of the parish, or the neighbouring parishes, where he was born? Yet, little as it is in itself, perfectly costless as it is to the nation, its value in the eyes of the common people is beyond all estimation; and, I have no scruple in saying, that the prospect of enjoying it, and the examples of its enjoyment, would send more countrymen into the army, than any other, and than all the other, inducements, that the most eloquent description could present to their views.

Now, in closing the letter, I shall only say, that, with respect to the practicability, the easy execution of the whole of this plan, after a due consideration of every difficulty that my mind can conceive, after, asking myself how all this is to be done without confusion, without bustle, without clashing, without embarrassments either at the seat of government, or in the parishes, or in the army itself, I am fully convinced, that a new office, consisting of a superintendant of the civil and political concerns of the soldiers and their parents, aided by a secretary and about six clerks, the whole establishment costing about ten thousand pounds a year, would completely manage the business, leaving all the other departments connected with the army precisely as they are, and without one additional object to divide their attention. If this be too much, nothing can be too little; and it were better that nothing at all should be done.——I am, &c. &c.—Wm. Cobbett.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Affairs of India (continued from pages, 171, 197, 237, 303, and 368).——The last page here referred to, with the seven pages immediately following, the history of Mr. Paull's laudable endeavours to bring about an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley, was brought down to the 12th instant. On Monday, the 17th instant, the same gentleman made a motion for papers relative to the transactions in Surat. The former part of the evening was, to the great disadvantage of the discussion of this important question, occupied with a debate, if one may call it by that name, upon the Ordnance Estimates; but, the whole of this debate was so much in the manner of battling-barristers, that it would be useless to take up the time of the reader with any remarks upon it. Before we come to the debate of the 17th, we must revert, for a moment, to that of the 12th upon the subject of the transactions in Bhurtpore. It was contended by Lord Temple (one of the Paymasters General and a nephew of Lord Grenville), and by Mr. Hiley Addington (one of the *paid* members of the present Board of Controul,) that Lord Wellesley was fully justified in his severe measures against the Rajah of Bhurtpore, because the said Rajah had been guilty of the most abominable *breach of faith* with regard to the East India Company. But, Mr. Paull, after shewing, that the Rajah had been *compelled* to enter into the treaty, which, it is said, and, perhaps, truly, he afterwards violated; that, allowing him to have aided the open enemies of the Company after the signature of this treaty, allowing him to have been preparing means for the overthrow of the English power in his neighbourhood at the very moment that he was plying Lord Wellesley with professions of the sincerest friendship; allowing all this to the utmost extent of expression or of imagination, the circumstances of the case fully warranted his conduct, he having been most unjustly and most tyrannically compelled to agree to the treaty by which he had been rendered subservient to the English in the subjugation of India. That this doctrine is perfectly sound every one at all acquainted with the writers upon public law, and, indeed, every one who appeals to reason or to natural justice, must be satisfied; and, the doctrine was most happily illustrated by Mr. Paull in an appeal to the feelings of the

House with regard to the recent conduct of France towards our unfortunate friend and ally, the *King of Naples*. "Holkar," said MR. PAULL, "to whom the Rajah of Bhurtpore "had been ready to give assistance against "us, was defeated by the English army; "and, instantly, with feelings, resembling "those of the kite, when he pounces down "upon the defenceless lark, Lord Wellesley resolved upon an act of vengeance, "severe beyond example, either in ancient "or modern times, except, perhaps, in the "recent conduct of BUONAPARTÉ towards "the ill-fated King of Naples, who, too, "was, as a pretence for his dethronement "and for a seizure upon his kingdom, accused of *treachery*! He had, under the "awe of French bayonets, made a treaty "with France; those bayonets removed "from before his breast, the French drawn "off by the allies in Germany, he invites "the Russians and the English into his dominions, in order, no doubt, to assist "thereby in overthrowing the power of "France in Italy; but, will these English say, "that, for this act, this pretended breach "of treaty and of faith; will these English "now say, that the king of Naples deserved, "to be dethroned; that his race deserved "to be exterminated; that he deserved, in "short, that weight of wrath, with which "he has been visited, and the like of which "would have fallen upon the RAJAH OF "BHURTPORE, if the orders of Lord Wellesley had been carried into execution, "and which execution failed only from a "want of power, though, in the sanguinary "attempt, 4,000 of British soldiers and 116 "British officers lost their lives?" This question may be safely left with the public, who may, at the same time, recollect, that *they* it is who will have to *pay* for this measure against the Rajah of Bhurtpore, as well as for all the other expensive expeditions of this war-making governor. And, shall we not *inquire* into his conduct? Shall not those who are to be called upon to grant our money, ask how the grant came to be necessary? And, are we, indeed, to witness, in scenes like these, a dead and doleful silence in those, who, in all the ways in which men can pledge themselves, stand pledged, not to suffer to pass unmolested; that is nothing; but to aid, to assist, to support with all their individual talents and all their collective means, the man, be he who he may, that first stands forward in the demanding of such an inquiry?—— The effect which our wars, our invasions, our dethronings, and our distribution of territory in India, must have upon the minds of the nations of Europe, has frequently been the subject of remark, and, as frequently the subject of deep regret; and, it will be seen, by a reference to the French manifestoes at the outset of the last campaign, that our conduct in India formed a copious subject, not of mere invective, but of fair recrimination. And, here, though some apology may be necessary for once more troubling the public with any thing about this gentleman, one cannot refrain from observing, that Mr. GEORGE JOHNSTONE, who is now the first to disclaim all intention of aiding the efforts of Mr. PAULL, and who has gratuitously come forward to declare in open parliament, that, from the first, he endeavoured to dissuade that gentleman from his intention of obtaining an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley; one cannot refrain from observing, that, in the year 1803 (while Lord Wellesley was safe in India), Mr. GEORGE JOHNSTONE did, as appears from the parliamentary debates, most decidedly condemn that conduct, representing the measures of Lord Wellesley even as more unjust and more tyrannical than the measures of Buonaparté towards the states and the princes of Europe. And, with this, I shall take leave of Mr. GEORGE JOHNSTONE for the present. ——Since the debate upon the subject of BHURTPORE two debates have taken place upon India affairs: the first, on the 17th inst. upon Mr. PAULL's motion relative to the transactions in SURAT; the second, on the 19th inst. upon a motion of Mr. HILEY ADDINGTON for authorizing the Board of Controul, of which he is a *paid* member, to *withhold*, at their *discretion*, any part of the papers ordered by a vote or votes of the House, to be produced for the inspection of the members. ——In the first of these debates we find two circumstances worthy of particular attention; the first is a declaration of Mr. Fox, who said, that he defied any one to prove, that he had, either in or out of parliament, either directly or indirectly, given encouragement to Mr. PAULL to proceed in his present endeavours to obtain a parliamentary inquiry; that he took some share of blame to himself for having, of late years, paid too little attention to India affairs; that, with regard to inquiries, tending to crimination, he thought it, generally speaking, better for the ministry to abstain from interfering, and to leave the task to other members of the House; that, as to the conduct of Lord Wellesley, he had, as yet, no opinion; and, that, when the time came, he should act as the case seemed to

require. Nobody ever said, or insinuated, that I know of, that Mr. Fox had given encouragement to Mr. PAULL; but, on the other hand, I cannot perceive why he did not do it; and, as to Mr. WINDHAM, he, previous to the change of ministry, seconded the motions of Mr. PAULL, and, as far as one can possibly judge from appearances in parliament, gave him every sort of encouragement that it was in his power to give. But, what I am disposed so maintain, is, that Mr. Fox and Mr. WINDHAM and Mr. SHERIDAN and every man of the ministry, the GRENVILLES excepted, are, in every way that men can be pledged, firmly pledged to support every motion for an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley, whose system of government has been the exact reverse of what they have always held forth as the proper one for India; and, as to the doctrine of ministers leaving such inquiries to other members of the House, to say nothing of the unreasonableness of supposing that they, who have all the information in their hands, are the most unfit persons for such undertakings, it happens, unfortunately for the consistency of this system of *neutrality*, that one part of the present ministry, and that part, too, which Mr. CANNING, (not without a motive) denominated "the "*great presiding soul*," miss no opportunity of defending and even of applauding the conduct of Lord Wellesley.——The other striking circumstance in this debate, was, the opinion declared by Sir T. METCALF (a Director) as contrasted with the declaration of Mr. ROBERT THORNTON, another Director. The former, at the close of a speech, in which he most earnestly besought Mr. PAULL not to continue his pursuit any further, and, in case of this advice proving useless, he besought the House not to grant the production of any more papers; at the close of this speech the eloquent Sir. T. pronounced a most flattering eulogium upon the conduct and the measures of Lord Wellesley, and begged the House to consider, that it was impossible for any man long to remain governor of India. This eulogium, especially when it was considered, that Sir T. from having a son in a very high, lucrative, and confidential office under Lord Wellesley, was likely to be well-informed upon the subject, appeared to MR. THORNTON to call for something to counteract it; wherefore Mr. THORNTON declared, that Sir T. did *not* speak the sentiments of the court of directors; and, he begged Sir T. to recollect, that, upon this subject, he, Sir T., stood *singly* against the other *twenty*-three of his brother directors!——MR. HILEY ADDINGTON's motion had for its object to authorize the Board of Controul (of which Mr. Hiley is one of the *paid* members observe) to *withhold, at their discretion any of the papers ordered by the House.* This motion was most strenuously resisted by Mr. FRANCIS, and, after a determination to adhere, had been expressed by Mr. Hiley, Lord FOLKESTONE, at the close of a speech replete with sound argument and constitutional sentiments, declared that he would not suffer such a motion to pass without dividing the House. Mr. Fox was undecided. He found that there were two precedents for the motion; he said, that, if there had been no precedent, he should have been decidedly against it; but, there being these precedents, he was in doubt what course to pursue. Whereupon MR. BANKS rose to oppose the motion; and was followed by LORD HENRY PETTY, who, though his mind was in the same state, with respect to the matter, as Mr. Fox's was, recommended to his "Right Hon. friend to "*withdraw his motion.*" Mr. WILBERFORCE highly disapproved of the motion. LORD MORPETH, though another member of the Board of Controul, utterly disclaimed having ever approved of it. Many other persons spoke; and, through the whole debate, there was no one who expressed an approbation of Mr Hiley's motion, except LORD TEMPLE, who (I beseech the reader to observe it and to remember it well) had, in the debate of the 17th, concluded his speech in the following words: "if the "honourable gentleman (Mr. PAULL) has "any regard for, and wishes to serve and "oblige, my noble friend (Lord Wellesley) "I advise him *to pursue his inquiry*; and, "if he has any regard for himself, I advise "him to put his motions in his pocket;" of the sincerity of which advice, and of the confidence of the noble lord in his noble friend's innocence, it would, after the debate of the 19th, be a sort of infidelity to doubt!——The attention of the House of Commons is, then, at last, seriously turned to this important inquiry; and, in spite of the smothering quality which appears to have been communicated to all the newspapers except the MORNING HERALD, the attention of the whole country will, and must, be turned to the same object.——As very closely connected with these matters, I shall here insert an account of a dinner, given, on the 20th instant to Lord Wellesley at Willis's Rooms, and which, without hinting who are to *pay* for it, is said to have cost a *thousand* pounds. The account is taken from the now leading

ministerial paper, the MORNING CHRONICLE, which, for the sake of its own character, does, however, think it necessary to premise, that the account was "*sent for insertion.*" —— Here it is: "the entertainment given to Marquis "Wellesley yesterday, at Willis's Rooms, "was the best conducted and most expressive mark of respect and attention which "we remember to have been evinced by individuals, as a testimony of their esteem "for an illustrious public character. Party "and politics were on this occasion entirely "forgotten, whilst a spirit of harmony, and "attachment to their noble guest, seemed "to be the predominant sentiment that pervaded this festive meeting. The gentlemen who thus manifested their personal "regard for the Marquis, were among the "most distinguished civil and military officers of his Majesty and the East India "Company who served in India during the "Marquis Wellesley's administration, also "the principal private gentlemen who resided there at the same period, these, altogether, formed a numerous and most "respectable body, composed of persons "from each of the several presidencies of "India. The style of the entertainment "was in every respect worthy of the occasion; the choicest wines, and all the delicacies of the season were provided, and "the guests who partook were, for the most "part, of the highest rank and distinction. "Among the company we noticed the fol "lowing personages.—Duke—Montrose. "Marquisses—Buckingham, Thomond and "Blandford.—Earls. Westmoreland, Winchelsea, Sandwich, Dartmouth, Buckinghamshire, Chatham, Bathurst, Camden, "Fortescue, Malmsbury, Westmeath, Carysfort, and Limerick.—Viscounts. Lowther "and Sidmouth.—Lords. Hawkesbury, "Braybrooke, Auckland, Mulgrave, Carrington, Bayning, Glastonbury, Henley, "Glenbervie, Clancarty, and Castlereagh. "—The Speaker of the House of Commons.—Sirs. E. Nepean, W. Farquhar, "T. Metcalfe, W. Grant, A. Wellesley, "A. Clarke, and J. Newport.—Generals. "Phipps, Forbes, and Balfour.—Colonels. "Leslie, Blair, Wood, Shaw, and Welkerstone.—Messrs. Vansittart, C. Greville, "Canning, J. Sullivan, Wallace, Steel, "Holford, Hobhouse, H. Addington, W. "Lake, Wellesley Pole, H. Wellesley, "Willis, Dundas, S. Bernard, Hastings, R. "Johnson, Baber, Monckton, Golding, "Russel, &c. The musick was excellent; "the most celebrated vocal performers gave "delightful specimens of their professional "abilities. General Harris, the Victor of "Seringapatam, proposed several loyal and "patriotic toasts, "The King," "The "Queen and Royal Family," "The Prince "of Wales," "The Duke of Clarence and "the Navy," "The Duke of York and "the Army," "The India Company," "The India Directors," and "The Memory of Lord Cornwallis."—Also each of "the leading Members of the present Administration. The health of the Marquis "Wellesley was drank with sincere fervour, "which drew from his lordship an acknowledgement expressed in the most animated "and grateful terms; the scene altogether "was extremely interesting and brilliant, "nor should it pass unnoticed, that those "gentlemen who offered so pleasing a tribute of their applause, were all locally "acquainted with Marquis Wellesley's administration in that country, which has "been the theatre of his lordship's important and splendid services"——Of the canvassing for this dinner, in which respect it bears no faint resemblance to that of the supper in the parable; of the persons who, at last condescended to assist at it; of those who positively refused to assist; of those who took their names out after they had been entered upon the list; of these we will not, at present, speak in detail; but will content ourselves with two short observations; 1st that, of all the East-India Directors, 24 in number, Sir T. METCALF only could be prevailed on to attend; and, 2nd, with respect to the most probable object of the dinner, it may not be amiss to remind MR. HILEY and LORD TEMPLE, who seem to lay so much stress upon precedents, of the curious fact, that a grand dinner was given to MR. HASTINGS, the 24 East-India Directors making part of the guests, and that, in a very few months afterwards, that gentleman was, for high crimes and misdemeanours, impeached by the House of Commons at the bar of the House of Lords!—— With this hint respecting *precedents*, we will, for this week, dismiss our remarks upon the Affairs of India.

Several other subjects press forward for discussion, and particularly some of those agitated by my correspondents; but, want of time will, I hope, be accepted as an apology.

THE ARMY.

DEAR SIR,—About a month ago I was introduced to an acquaintance with you, through the medium of your Weekly Register, and have since acknowledged myself obliged to a reverend friend for the intro-

duction, for I am pleased with your manners, because they appear independent, although I cannot subscribe to some of your opinions. Your high commendations of Mr. Windham, your unqualified censures of the late ministry, your wish for something *quite* new, and your downright abuse of the volunteer system, have led me into a labyrinth, from which I am unable to extricate myself without your assistance. In your Register (speaking of Mr. Windham and the army, you say, "Most sincerely do I declare, that I am convinced, that no man in the kingdom is to be compared with him in point of knowledge and wisdom, as far as it is connected with subjects of this sort." What, Sir, is it that has convinced you of this? Is it his having conversed with you on the subject, and fallen in with your opinions? Or, is it because the country was successful during the period that he superintended the war-department? I should expect it was the latter, for the former could be matter of speculative opinion only, and ought not to convince, although it might encourage a hope. And, what advantages did the army or the country receive from his exalted abilities? Did they not appear because he was controled by Mr. Pitt? If so, why did he continue so long in office, with salutary measures in his heart and baneful ones in his hands? Was it from love of office, or a love of emolument? But we are now to have something "*Quite* new, and any thing that is not so will be useless!" This, indeed, is charming; but the Parish-recruiting Bill was *quite* new, and proves that measures ought to have something more than being *quite* new, to recommend them. We are, however, to expect better things from Mr. Windham than we received from the late ministry; and for your sake, Mr. Cobbett, for my own sake, and for the sake of my country, I hope we shall not be disappointed. I hope he will adopt measures that will ensure our safety: but you say, that "To suppose any other than regular soldiers are fit to be opposed in battle to the armies of France, is a mark of as perfect insanity as ever was a passport to Bedlam." So said Mr. Pitt, when the sans-culottes of France talked of opposing the combined armies. But how many regulars must we have to oppose them? How are they to be raised, and where are experienced officers to command them? These are serious questions, and I expect that you have a serious answer ready for me, "In Mr. Windham's *quite* new plan." His plan, then, must be very prolific, and you must excuse me if I have my doubts about it; for we have had so many mountains in labour to bring forth a mouse, that I cannot dismiss my fears. Nay, if I had not these, I should have others. Must an alarm be again rung, and must we resign the liberties we have protected from the licentiousness of France, to Mr. Windham and a large standing army, merely because he thinks the volunteers cannot be made an efficient force, and you can abuse them? Because he has a military bantling that he wants the country to nurse, and you sicken at the "Predominance of trade and commerce?" Pardon me, Sir, if I am wrong, but I cannot subscribe to the whole of your creed. I cannot say that the volunteers have "Degraded the military character of the country, that they are capable of producing nothing but mischief, and that the country would be safer without them." What, Sir, is this language the poor return you owe them? And would you have his Majesty, the parliament, the country, after encouraging them to assemble, dismiss them in disgrace? This, Sir, is a measure above my comprehension. At least, it is so, if it must be classed with those that are esteemed, either wise or honourable. The volunteer system is, certainly, not perfect; but wherein has it tended to "Degrade, nay, totally to extinguish, the military character of the nation." Has it degraded the very few military characters that had arrived at an enviable eminence, previous to the war with France? Has it degraded the character of Lord Hutchinson, Gen. Moore, and others who have gained a reputation during the war, notwithstanding the volunteers were in arms? Or has it not rather obliged the *gentlemen officers* that were above learning the drudgery of their profession, to learn their a, b, c? The military character of the country has certainly been in a degraded situation, but the volunteer system did not produce, it only exposed it; or, rather, threw it into the foreground by becoming itself the foil, and thereby shewing its tattered drapery. By this I would not be understood to insinuate, that there was no abilities, no science, in the army; for there certainly were men of abilities, and men of science, but they were not to be found in every battalion. There were some *good* soldiers, there were many fine gentlemen. Do you believe the assertion of your correspondent from Huntsmoore, that "There are not ten regiments in his Majesty's service, in which there are *two* captains who could command a battalion through the evolutions of the nineteen manœuvres, &c.?" Perhaps you do not believe him, and I should be sorry to be enabled to prove it; but I

have *seen* captains, previous to their being degraded by the volunteer system, superior to the mean art of recollecting, or attempting to recollect, the words of command; and I have heard them say to their serjeants, "Well, what next, &c." The drudgery of the battalion was beneath them, it was unfashionable to appear as if they had risen from the ranks. And this is the military character, the volunteer system has degraded! This is the system of *real* splendour! Surely, Mr. Cobbett, this is a labyrinth! This is inexplicable! Do let us go back, for the further we proceed the more intricate appears the way. Let us return to Mr. Windham. Must none of his officers, in his *quite* new phalanx, be men of business, i. e. "Mercantile red-coats?" Must none of the inspectors, reviewers, &c. be "Flatterers or toad-eaters?" This will be very fine indeed! and we may never again find ourselves obliged to use such strange epithets; but often recur to the more pleasing language used by you, in page 205, where you say, "I was second to no man in urging the necessity of exalting the military profession." But to urge the necessity, without pointing out some of the means, is only trifling with the subject. And what means have you pointed out? Have you recommended an attention to the moral conduct of the army, to its physical powers, to its mechanical strength, to its existing abuses, and to its theoretical, as well as its practical information? If you have recommended an attention to these, you have done well; but, instead of these, what have you done? You have undertaken a petty warfare, and attempted to *exalt* the regulars by *degrading* the volunteers. This, Sir, is much beneath you, and I have no doubt but you will soon perceive your error, and make some atonement. Indeed, I am ready to confess, that your strictures on Lord Grenville's Auditorship, and Lord Ellenborough's place in the Cabinet, have nearly balanced your account with me, and I as sincerely commend you for them, as I discommend you for the other. I would, however, recommend a rather more temperate language; for you have so blackened the characters of the late ministry, that I begin to feel for them a little, though I much disliked them before, and am ready to conclude, they were not so bad as you represent them. This effect may be produced, by the same kind of language, in other cases; and when it is used, on almost every occasion, it becomes habitual, and, like common swearing, is but little regarded.—I have not introduced into this letter, arguments to prove the utility of the volunteer corps, pointed out the advantages that have been already derived from them, or given you hints for their improvements; but if you will do me the favour to insert this letter in your Register, I shall not hesitate to make them the subject of another.—I remain, Sir, &c. RICHARD.—*Cotswold Hills, March* 10, 1806.

MILITARY PENSIONS.

SIR;——Possessing as I do an enthusiastic veneration for every thing that comes from your pen, I have read with no common interest, what you have mentioned in the two last numbers of your invaluable Political Register, on the formation of an army. At present we have a profusion of red coats, but certainly few soldiers; and, if any man in the United Kingdom is at all equal to the Herculean task, it certainly is Mr. Windham. I have no hesitation in saying, that high bounties, so disgraceful to the nation, and ever prejudicial to the individual, might be done away, by enlisting soldiers for seven years; a re-engagement for a like period in his own regiment should entitle the soldier to a certain pension, and when disposed to a third enlistment for a like period, (making in all 21 years) the soldier should be entitled to an increase of pension, with the privileges of a freeholder in the county he came from; and an increased pension where the soldier was willing, and *capable*, of making a fourth engagement. This would do away the necessity of having men held in bondage for life, in veteran battalions, the establishment of which, I have no hesitation in saying, is *prejudicial* to the service. And, I believe, in the British service only, is the feather of rank rudely wrested from the veterans brow, when tottering on the brink of the grave. A civilian who has lived upon the fat of the land, turned from his office, obtains a pension. An officer who has served half a century, and braved the field, and foreign climates, is turned into a veteran battalion; and has to regret, his friends had not made him a chimney sweep.——BELISARIUS.

COUNTRY BANKS.

Thou art a bold writer, friend Cobbett. Thou utterest many wholesome truths in plain language; the language, indeed, of asperity; but, the subjects of thy animadversion may render such language expedient. Thou hast said a great deal about the paper-money-makers, and blood-suckers, who inhabit the *town*. What are thy thoughts of this description of the community who dwell in the *country*? Their paper commodity, in

the neighbourhood of my residence, " has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Their *ten* and *five* pound notes have forced the *Bank of England* nearly out of circulation, and a late inundation of *one* pound notes threatens the exclusion of all the precious metal. The consequence to the shopkeeper, who should refuse these notes, would be the loss of his trade, and eventual ruin. Canst thou suggest a remedy for this evil, friend Cobbett? And what will be the issue to the holders of these notes, if the evil be not speedily removed?——A COUNTRY TRADESMAN.

COUNTRY BANKS.

SIR;——I have frequently been surprised, when reading your Register, that one of the greatest evils existing in this kingdom, has not been exposed to the public, and in your masterly way laid open to your readers. I mean the Country Banks, which in every country town have been set up by adventurers; such as drapers, grocers, attorneys, &c. &c. &c., without any authority whatever, to supply the whole kingdom with paper currency of their own coining, the magnitude of which is beyond calculation. Those bankers being under no restrictions in regard to quantity, take every opportunity of circulating their trash, by loans, to yeomen and tradesmen, by entering into all sorts of jobs and speculations, which paper, when out of their hands, cannot be redeemed by them but by the same coinage; for they issue no specie. Their constant answer is, the Bank of England issue no money, therefore we cannot. But the most alarming of all is, the holders of this paper having no security but the issuers, what will be the consequence to them, in case of a crash amongst those coiners? which must inevitably happen should ever specie come again into circulation, as their issues exceed perhaps twenty times their property, and every one would run for gold in lieu of their trash. The holders of this paper are from necessity obliged to take it, there being no other currency; not a Bank of England note is ever seen at any distance from London, nor will any country people take them, because the cry from the paper coiners is, those of the Bank of England circulating in the country are all forged notes. Surely it is not, it cannot, be legal, for those persons to set up mints and supply the whole kingdom with a currency of paper of no value (and there is no other) without the authority of parliament. The Bank of England cannot do it; the directors are authorised under restrictions, and are frequently called upon by parliament, to shew their issues do not exceed their real property in specie, or the worth of it. Then why shall those country paper-mongers be permitted to plunder the country, make princely fortunes, so much so, that whenever an estate (no matter what magnitude) is to be sold, it is a banker in general who is the purchaser, and pays for it with his own paper; this inundation of paper must also enhance the price of every necessary of life, as, at all times, according to the quantity of currency in circulation, provisions have borne a proportionable price; we have heard of a peck of wheat for a penny and an ox for 5s. This paper also gives an undue influence to the issuers at all elections for county and borough members, as all the yeomen and tradesmen to whom they lend their paper (and they press it upon them) are entirely under their controul, and very soon we shall see one partner at least in every one of those shops, in parliament (many are at present) in that case uniting with their brother bankers in London, stock-jobbers and underwriters, who are most of them members, they will have such a powerful weight in parliament that we shall never see the King's gold coin in circulation again. In short, there are so many evils arising from country banks, one is astonished at the mischievous tendency being connived at so long. I have no doubt, were a tax laid upon every individual banking shop in the country at £1000 per annum, two at least in every great town would pay it rather than give up so enriching a situation, and in the smaller towns one would pay it. I know in one country town two shops, whose average paper amounts to nearly £300,000 each, that they have in circulation; and, by this at least they profit 5 per cent. Or those who are desirous to continue bankers to be called upon for a loan to the public of £40,000 at £2. 10s. per cent. or not be allowed to issue any paper, which would in some measure be a security to the holders of their paper, as well as letting the public share in the profits gained by the bankers from the people taking the paper. At all events, something should be done to stop the present practice, or eventually the country must be ruined by it.—I have just given you these hints, which put into proper shape and good language, will do some good towards putting a stop to the mischief.

—I have another case to mention, which is a very serious hardship upon the poor labourer and mechanic: when they receive their week's wages they are paid by their employers in country bank paper in one pound notes, according to the number of men to be paid: they take them to the banker, who will give them others in lieu of them, but will not give them silver or copper for them: they then run from house to house trying to get them changed; no: at last they are compelled either to spend a part of them at an ale-house, or buy some goods at a shop (and, probably, what is not immediately wanted) otherwise they cannot obtain change for the paper, to lay out in provisions for their family; if they do not buy any thing, the alehouse man or shopkeeper (if they change it) demands a shilling for breaking each note as it is called. The poor man has no other alternative, he must do this or keep the paper. The person who pays his men can do no otherwise, as he cannot obtain specie, none being in circulation.—— Your constant reader.——A FARMER.

LORD MELVILLE.

SIR,—In the Register in April or May last, a letter was inserted containing insinuations, that if an investigation were made into the disposal of the King's revenue in Scotland, and the payment of pensions and bounties, there abuses would be discovered. Subsequently, a motion was made in parliament by Lord Henry Petty, for several accounts upon this subject; and from those produced and now printed, (though by no means complete) all that the writer of the letter alluded to, said, is proved. It appears, in the first place, that his Majesty's Scot's revenue is frittered away by grants, (which are really pensions, though they do not enter the pension list) so that it never reaches the Exchequer. For example, 600l. a year to the Right Honourable William Dundas, out of the rents of the lordship of Ross; the late grant of the lordship of Fife to Lady Melville, &c. &c. 2dly. That the pension list has been regularly increasing since 1798. When the accounts produced close in May, 1805, the amount was 12,000l. a year more than in 1798, and, if the account had been carried on, the increase would have been much more, as it stops precisely when the pension of 1500l. to Lord Melville and some others were about to be added. 3dly. It appears, that the King's hereditary and reserved revenue not being sufficient to pay the pensions and usual bounties, the deficiency is from time to time made up by issues from the *public revenue*, upon orders from the Treasury, backed by the warrants of the Barons of the Exchequer. The sums so issued are not great, but the principle is the same, and one would wish to know how such an application of the public revenue can be justified. And, lastly, there appears various large sums issued to persons who hold no official situations, upon warrants from the Treasury, *without account*. It is grievously suspected in Scotland, that these are ministerial jobs, and not improbably for money spent in elections, or supporting the ministerial candidates.—Surely it is impossible to contend that the public money, or even the King's own money, when the public is called on to make up deficiencies, should be given in this way, the purpose kept secret, and all account dispensed with.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

SIR,——Viewing as I do the subject of the funds in much the same way with yourself, and being anxious to be persuaded, if I could reasonably and honestly feel so, of the justice of ceasing to pay interest on them; yet, I cannot without stronger argument bring myself to consider it would be just to destroy them entirely; and as to the expediency of it likewise, one of your suggestions makes me doubt more than I had before done; that is, your conceiving it was necessary that loans should still be made; now, I cannot comprehend how the ministry now in power could hope to make a loan, if they do not continue to pay interest for all hitherto made.—With regard too, to the justice of ceasing to pay interest, or taxes, for the sums hitherto borrowed, I am very well aware that it is the duty, the paramount duty, of those in power to take care that the nation does not sink under its debts, from a false sense of its honour; I am likewise aware, that it ought to regard in a much more favourable view the landed, mercantile, (properly so called) and all the trading interests dependant upon labour, or upon capital, so far as the capital is necessary to call forth the labour, and to enable it to be productive; and, as generally speaking, there is less of gambling sort of speculation, less of mere money making speculation, in the above description of persons, than in funded proprietors, I conceive from their character they do deserve very superior consideration: inasmuch too, as they form the strength of the nation, and the fund owners consume that strength, the claim to favour unquestionably is all on one side: but, when we recollect the motives for which the debt was contracted, which was to prevent the

then present accumulation of taxes crowding the landed, trading, mercantile, and laborious descriptions of persons, when we consider too, that to lend money to the public in its wants is no wise blameable, and moreover, when one calls to mind that those very descriptions, will be generally speaking, the most benefited by the annihilation of the debt, I cannot reconcile it with justice, that the fund-owners should be the sole sufferers, unless I was convinced it was impossible that all descriptions could bear a part, and the country not be undone. Supposing, for instance, the income tax was to be very highly raised; supposing, making a more liberal allowance to land-owners for repairs, outgoings, improvements, &c. than our late minister (who seemed always utterly ignorant of country life, and the needs of country gentlemen) ever proposed; 1-third of the present rents of estates was to be taken as an annual and perpetual land tax; supposing the like rate was to be taken from all properties as a like perpetual tax; and that the funds were in exactly the same manner to be reduced; this would at one blow take off, to speak in round numbers 200,000,000 of debt; for as to the claim to be paid the principal again, I for one can never subscribe to its having an existence. At the above proposed increase of perpetual tax, I have no doubt you yourself, and every one at first, will cry out most furiously; as reducing so very much more, the already miserably reduced, lafided interest. I do not, however, think it would have the effect to bear so extensive a degree as at first appears: If it should keep many more in the country than are there now, it would be no great harm to them, nor the public; it would not take off from their consequence nor their independence; and all being reduced together, for I could wish taxes to begin in a more reduced scale, or rather with abatements for specific reasons, with almost the lowest independent order of subjects: the land owners too, would be able soon to raise their land; at any rate they certainly would from all late experience, be able to do so before very long, and as the tax would never increase in amount to them, it would soon diminish in proportion. From the tax on the funds too, I would by no means exempt foreigners, as Mr. Pitt succeeded in doing; I can see no well weighed reason for that, (though at the first view it seemed plausible and reasonable;) for all foreigners chuse our funds either for their convenience, from its supposed security, (and that quality I conceive would be increased no little for the residue of it;) or from the pecuniary advantage they might gain; now, that we should be made to suffer almost beyond endurance, that foreigners may fatten upon our distresses, I cannot think is requisite. I will not intrude many words more; I am a land-owner myself, from interest it will be thought I am necessarily; from conviction, however, of its superior importance for the public benefit, I am still more highly attached to it; but I cannot think the proprietors of it are men of that character which deserve to be saved from pecuniary ruin; or, which is of more importance far, are of characters such as to serve their King and country in the present crisis; if they would not, I will not say chearfully, (for I fear dissipation, pleasure, and effeminacy of mind is too prevalent among all descriptions, to hope for that;) but without resistance submit it to sacrifices to the above extent, if they could but feel secure that the affairs of the nation would be conducted with a constant and zealous attention to its honour and independence; a hope which from the gracious accordance of our Sovereign, with the desires of his people in the formation of his ministry, the country begins to indulge with confidence.——I am, Sir, your very sincere admirer, and constant reader—BRITANNUS.

March 3, 1806.

CLERGY RESIDENCE ACT.

To the Right Hon. W. Windham.

SIR,—From the liberal ideas expressed in your speeches against the act for enforcing the clergy to residence, I will cherish the hope, that you will still support their cause, by moving for a repeal of that act. The Act of Henry VIIIth, harsh and unjust as it was, did not oppress the clergy so much as the present law; for by this the common informer, in some instances, can recover five times as much as he could by the Act of Henry VIIIth.—That residence is a moral duty is not denied; it is also a moral duty for all gentlemen to reside part of the year on their estates; but the law has made provision for the duties of the clergy, by allowing curates, who must be approved of by the Bishops. These resident curates, being generally young and respectable men, perform the parochial duties better than the old or infirm incumbents. This may be easily conceived, when it is remembered, that most of our Bishops and superior clergy were curates in their younger days. It is certainly to the credit of the clergy, that no complaint has ever been brought against them in parliament for non-residence; for, it is well known, that they generally did reside, where residence was tolerable and practicable, they

were invited to residence by interest, by inclination, and duty; these are better motives than what are enforced by an act, degrading and afflicting them with heavy pains and penalties. But when men were verging to the decline of life, after having spent their best days in the duties of their parish, they naturally hoped to have the privilege to live where they pleased, for they then wanted the aid and comfort of society in towns, or among their friends and relations; but for such purposes as these, and many others of great importance to clergymen, the act does not allow absence, so very hard does this law, which is also an *ex post facto* law, operate against the elder clergy, though they had dedicated the best period of their lives to their parochial duties; to them, at least, might be granted the indulgence of that liberty, which all other classes of men enjoy in this free country.—In acts of reform it is generally provided, that the present possessors should not be injured or distressed, but that the reform should be gradual and prospective, then no one could complain of either partial or public injury. It is melancholy to reflect, that the clergy of the church of England are, at this day, subject to greater hardships than any other class of men in the kingdom; we see with what malevolence they are attacked by the hypocrite, the enthusiast, and the infidel; we see what difficulties they have to encounter, to receive their lawful property, which in general is little more than half of what is their just due. Many others might be enumerated, and yet, at the same time, we observe them in the most critical and trying times of public danger, doing their duty with zeal and ability. Surely, then, the clergy deserve the good will of the public, and the protection of the state.—I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. SENEX.—*Feb.* 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIA.——*Memorial of Baron Von Hardenberg, Minister of State to the King of Prussia, to Lord Harrowby. Dated Berlin, Dec* 22, 1805.

MY LORD;——Conformably to the answer I have already had the honour to transmit to your Excellency, to the question which you addressed to me, relative to the security of the troops of his Britannic Maj. in the North of Germany, I hasten to lay before you the positive assurances which I have the pleasure to be able to communicate to you.—Your Exc. is acquainted with the present state of affairs. You will first perceive that, at the point to which matters have now come, since the unfortunate battle of Austerlitz, between Austria and France, in consequence of the return of the great Russian army, and the total uncertainty in which we are with regard to the intentions of Napoleon towards Prussia, the utmost caution is absolutely necessary. The bravest army cannot always reckon upon success; and it is, undoubtedly, the interest of Prussia, and the interest of the whole world, to prevent any attack upon her at the present moment, when she would have to bear the whole burden of the war; and no confederacy adapted to circumstances has been formed; for, in case her armies should prove unsuccessful, the last ray of hope, to maintain the security and independence of the Continent, would be extinguished.——The King still animated by the same wish to establish a general peace on a permanent footing, and, if possible, to the satisfaction of all parties, must consequently have been ardently desirous that his mediation, stipulated in the convention signed on the 3d of Nov. at Potsdam, should have been accepted by France. In an interview which Count Von Haugwitz had with Napoleon on the 28th Nov. that Monarch manifested a disposition to accept of this mediation, on the two following conditions:—1. That during the negociation no troops of his Britannic Maj. nor any Russians or Swedes should advance into Holland to commence warlike operations there, after their departure from the North of Germany. 2. That a more extensive circuit should be allowed to the fortress of Hameln, in order to relieve the distress of the garrison for provisions.——The King could not accept these propositions under the circumstances of the moment in which they were made: but these have totally changed, and in the present conjuncture his Maj. has not only judged them admissible—upon condition that the Emperor Napoleon engages, on his side, not to send any troops into the North of Germany, as long as the negociations shall continue, and that he shall not undertake any thing against Hanover during the same interval; but even favourable, as time will thus be gained to take more deliberate measures, and to prepare for every contingency; either in case a war should break out, or this intermediate state of things should lead to a definitive negociation.——That no time may be lost, his Maj. has sent Major Von Pfuhl to the French head-quarters, that this arrangement may be carried into effect. At the same time, Count Haugwitz has received the necessary instructions, bearing date the 19th inst. and the King has given France to understand, that he shall consider the occupation of Hanover by

Discounts, 4

French troops, as an act of hostility.—Agreeably to what I have just stated, his Maj. has authorised me to inform your lordship, that, in conformity with the assurances already given, in case the troops of his Britannic Maj. and the Russians should prove unfortunate, the King engages for the security of the troops of his Britannic Maj. in Hanover, and grants them perfect liberty, in case of necessity, to retreat to the Prussian army, and to the states of the King, but with the following modifications, which circumstances render necessary :—1. That they take their positions in the rear of the Prussian troops, and abstain, during the period of the intermediate negociation, from every movement and step of a provoking nature towards Holland. 2. That in case the Prussian troops shall be attacked by the French, his Maj. may rely with perfect confidence on the support and co-operation of the troops of his Britannic Maj. as long as they shall continue in the North of Germany. His Maj. has given orders for a respectable corps to advance into Westphalia, and will adopt every necessary measure for security and defence. The Russian troops, under the command of Gen. Count Tolstoy, are already at the entire disposal of his Maj., as the Emperor Alexander has fully authorised him to dispose of them at pleasure; and likewise of those which are under Gen. Bennigsen, in Silesia.—I therefore request your Exc. to write as speedily as possible to Lord Cathcart, the Commander-in-Chief of the troops of his Britannic Maj., and to prevail upon him to take, without delay, such steps as are necessary for these different purposes, and in particular to comply with the invitation which will be transmitted to him by the order of the King, through Count Kalreuth, to consult personnally with him and Count Tolstoy, on the positions which the troops of his Britannic Maj., the Russians, and Pussians, will have to take, in consequence of the above-mentioned arrangements.——As the Swedish troops are in the same predicament with the troops of his Britannic Maj. and the Russians, it would be extremely desirable to prevail upon his Swedish Maj. to conform to this arrangement.—I hope that, to this end, your lordship will act in concert with Prince Dolgorucky, whom his Imperial Maj. of all the Russias has charged with every thing relative to the destination of the Russian army. In case his Swedish Maj. will resign the conduct of his troops to Count Tolstoy, the King is ready to give them the same guarantee which he offers to the troops of his Britannic Maj., during their continuance in the North of Germany. 3. With regard to the provisioning of the fortress of Hameln, it is conceived that the grant of a certain district, from which the garrison might themselves procure provisions, would be attended with great inconveniencies, both in respect to the subjects of his Britannic Maj., and on account of the collisions which might thence ensue between the troops. It, therefore, appears preferable, to furnish necessaries from the Hanoverian territory, through an intermediate person, to whom Gen. Barbou must send a statement of what he wants for daily consumption, and on whose requisition the Hanoverian ministry will take care that it be delivered at the places appointed for that purpose. But Gen. Barbou must, on his side, engage to remain quiet within the town of Hameln.—Conformably to these ideas, the King has sent M. Von Krusemark, Lieut. Col. of the *Garde du Corps*, and Adjutant to Field Marshal Von Mollendorf, to Hanover. I have given him, for my part, a letter to the ministers of his Britannic Maj., at Hanover, and another for Gen. Barbou, that the necessary arrangements for providing, instantaneously, for the subsistence of the garrison of Hameln, may be made, and put into execution without delay.——I have now nothing left, my lord, but to refer to the verbal communication I had the honour to make to you, and to intreat you to take in general such steps as you shall think expedient for carrying into execution the whole arrangement which I have had the honour to submit to you. I request you to have the goodness to inform the Commander-in-Chief of the troops of his Britannic Maj., that it is only in case he shall think proper to accede to this arrangement, and to adopt such measures as shall depend upon him for carrying it into execution, his Prussian Maj. can positively engage to guarantee the security of the troops of his Britannic Maj. In case of attack on the part of the French, it will, however, be necessary, that the conduct of the whole should centre in one point, and it appears natural that the oldest in rank should then assume the chief command. It would consequently devolve upon Gen. Count Kalkreuth, both for the above reason, and likewise because he, being in the vicinity of the enemy, would be best able to judge what measures to adopt.——I repeat to your Exc. the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c. (Signed) HARDENBERG.

REPORT *from the Committee Appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against Henry Lord Viscount Melville.* *(Continued from p. 352.)*

No. 7.——*The following Account is extracted from the Books of Mure and Atkinson.*

Dr. Lord Advocate of Scotland, in Accot. Currt. with Mure and Co. Cr.

1780. Apr.	To Balce. of Col. Dundas's acct.		634	18	0		
1781, May	31. To cash paid his dft. dated 22d inst.		300	0	0		
Aug.	20. To do. pd. his dft. to Mr. Spottiswood		300	0	0		
Dec.	3. To do. pd. do. to Jas. Newbigging		300	0	0		
1782. Jan.	28. To do. pd. do. to do.		500	0	0		
June	15. To do. pd. Mr. Bell dft. dated 11th inst.		1200	0	0		
July	30. To do. pd. Ph. Dundas's bill to G. Urquhart		113	18	9		
Aug.	5. To do. pd. his dft. to W. Bell		100	0	0		
	12. To do. pd. him		100	0	0		
	21. To do. pd. Ph. Dundas's dft.		30	0	0		
	31. To do. pd. do. bill to J. and D. Webster		182	0	0		
Sep.	17. To do. pd. his order to W. Bell		200	0	0		
	26. To do. pd. do. dft. to Bell and Rannie		500	0	0		
	28. To do. pd. do. bill to W. Bell		300	0	0		
Oct.	15. To do. pd. do. dft. to Sir W. Forbes and Co.		500	0	0		
	19. To do. pd. do. to W. Bell		500	0	0		
Nov.	29. To int. on Col. Dundas's acct. to 11th Sept. last		130	14	4		
	To cash for balance pd. him		11	0	7		
1783. Jan.	27. To do. pd. him		400	0	0		
Apr.	30. To do. pd. Capt. Dundas dft. dated 19th inst.		600	0	0		
May	21. To do. pd. him the sum recd. 19 April		936	0	0		
June	30. To do. pd. do. dft. dated 5th inst.		400	0	0		
July	2. To do. pd. the Bank on his acct.		5000	0	0		
	11. To do. pd. do.		6000	0	0		
	31. To do. pd. do.		2000	0	0		
Dec.	31. To do. pd. dft. to Mr. Bell		300	0	0		
1784. July	12. To do. pd. him		2000	0	0		
1785. Feb.	15. To bills payable for H. Dundas's bill		600	0	0		
	To balance		140	0	0		
		£.	24278	11	8		
1782. Sept.	10. By cash recd. from R. Atkinson					3900	0 0
Nov.	16. By do. recd. from R. A's. dft. on Smith and Co.					2002	11 3
1783. Apr.	17. By do recd. from him					10000	0 0
	19. By do. recd. from A. Gray					936	0 0
May	16. By do. recd. from Col. Dundas					600	0 0
June	12. By bills recd. from him on Coutts and Co. viz.						
Due	20 July	2000	0	0			
	30 —	2000	0	0			
	9 Aug.	2840	0	0			
						6840	0 0
					Henry Callender	£. 24278	11 8

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN FINANCE.

Official Report of the Revenue of the United States for the Year ending Sept. 30, 1805; together with the Estimates for the Year 1806. *(Continued from p. 249.)*

MEDITERRANEAN FUND.

It appears by the statement (B) that the additional duty of two and a half per cent. on goods paying duties *ad valorem*, which constitutes the "Mediterranean fund," amounted, during the six last months of 1804, to 563,038 dollars. And it is ascertained that the amount of the duty accrued during the year, ending on the 30th day of June, 1805, was 990,000. This apparent product will, it is true, be diminished by subsequent exportations; but it is believed, from a view of the value of the goods imported in 1803 and 1804, which are charged with that duty, that the fund may be estimated as producing nearly 900,000 dollars a-year. If that estimate be correct, the fund will ultimately produce, during the one year and nine months, commencing on the 1st day of July, 1804, and ending on the 31st day of March, 1806, one million five hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars - - - 1,375,000

The expenses heretofore charged on that fund have been, viz.

Paid, in 1804, to the navy department, under the act constituting the fund	525,000	
Paid, in 1805, to the said department, by virtue of the 2d session of the act of the 25th January, 1805 - - -	590,000	
		1,115,000

Making altogether one million one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, and leaving an unappropriated surplus, estimated at four hundred and sixty thousand dollars, but which will be more than absorbed by the navy deficiencies above-mentioned. The monies actually received, or to be received into the treasury on account of that fund, prior to the first day of January, 1806, are estimated at about 600,000 dollars. The residue will be received between that day and the 31st day of March, 1807; and credit has been taken for a sum of 900,000 dollars, on that account, in the preceding estimate of the receipts of the year 1806.

PUBLIC DEBT.

The payments on account of the principal of the public debt have, during the year ending on the 30th day of September, 1805, exceeded four millions three hundred and seventy-seven thousand dollars, as appears by estimate - - - -		4,377,893 63
The two last instalments due to Great Britain, and amounting to one million seven hundred and seventy-six thousand dollars, have also been discharged during the same period - -		1,776,000
Making in the whole a reimbursement of more than six millions one hundred and fifty thousand dollars - -		6,153,893 63

As the exportation of the specie necessary to discharge the last-mentioned instalment would have been sensibly felt, it was found eligible to pay it in London, in conformity with the authority given by the act of the 3d of March, 1805, and the operation was effected, at par, by the bank of the United States.

It appears by the same statement (D) that the payments on account of the public debt, from the 1st April, 1801, to the 30th September, 1805, have amounted to almost eighteen millions of dollars,		17,954,790 49
During the same period there have been paid to Great Britain, in satisfaction and discharge of the money which the United States might have been liable to pay, in pursuance of the provisions of the 6th article of the treaty of 1794,		2,664,000
The balance in the treasury amounted on the 1st of Apr. 1801, to	1,794,052 59	
And on the 30th day of Sept. 1805, to -	4,575,654 37	
Making an increase of -		2,781,601 78

From which, deducting the proceeds of the sales of bank shares	1,287,600	
Leaves for the increase arising from the ordinary revenue, - - -		1,494,001 78
Making, in the whole, a difference of more than twenty-two millions of dollars in favour of the United States, during that period of four years and a half -		22,112,792 27

In order to give a more general and concise view of the receipts and expenditures of the United States, during the four years, commencing on the 1st day of April, 1801, and ending on the 31st day of March, 1805, than can be derived from the annual printed accounts, a statement marked (H), and several explanatory statements marked (H. 1 to H. 8), have been added to those which usually accompany this report.—From those it appears, that a sum of fifty millions six hundred and sixty-seven thousand four hundred and sixty-seven dollars and four cents has been paid into the treasury during that period, viz.

From duties on tonnage and on the importation of foreign merchandize - -		45,174,837 22
From all other sources (including 1,596,171 dollars and 43 cents, arising from the sales of bank shares and of public vessels,) -		5,492,629 82
		50,667,467 04

And that the expenditures during the same period, have amounted to forty-nine millions six hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-seven dollars and fifty-six cents, which have been disbursed for the following purposes:—1. Less than one-third of the whole has been sufficient to defray all the current expenses of the United States, viz.

For the civil list and all domestic expenses of a civil nature	3,785,114 79	
For the military establishment and Indian department - -	4,405,192 26	
For the naval establishmt	4,842,635 15	
For the expenses attending the intercourse with foreign nations - -	1,071,433 84	
Amounting altogether to -		14,105,380 04
2. Near one-third was necessary to pay the interest on the public debt, viz. -		16,278,700 95

On which subject it may not be improper to observe, that a part of that sum, amounting to 3,160,000 dollars, was paid on account of the interest on the deferred stock; a charge which commenced only in the year 1801, and was therefore in addition to the annual sum wanted before that year, for the payment of interest on the public debt.

3. More than one-third, and which may be considered as the surplus revenue of the United States, during that period, has been applied towards the reimbursement and extinguishment of the debt, viz.

On account of the principal of the public debt proper	16,317,663 92	
In payment of debts contracted before the 1st. day of April, 1801, arising under the Br. treaty, and under the Fr. convention of 30th Sep. 1800 - -	2,963,782 65	
		19,281,446 57
		49,665,527 56

It is sufficiently evident, that, whilst one-third of the national revenue is necessarily absorbed by the payment of interest, a persevering application of the resources, afforded by seasons of peace and prosperity, to the discharge of the principal, in the manner directed by the legislature, is the only effectual mode by which the United States can ultimately obtain the full command of their revenue, and the full disposal of all their resources. Every year produces a diminution of interest, and a positive increase of revenue. Four years more will be sufficient to discharge (in addition to the annual reimbursements on the six per cent. and deferred

stocks) the remainder of the Dutch debt, and the whole of the 8 per cent. navy; six per cent. five and a half per cent. and four and a half per cent. stocks. As the portion of the public debt which shall then remain unpaid will consist of the six per cent. deferred and Louisiana stocks, neither of which can be reimbursed, except at the periods and in the proportions fixed by contract, and of the three per cent. stock, which its low rate of interest will render ineligible to discharge at its nominal value; the rapidity of the reduction of the debt, beyond the annual reimbursements permitted by the contracts, will, after the year 1809, depend on the price at which purchases may be effected. And, should circumstances render it eligible, a considerable portion of the revenue now appropriated for that purpose, may then, in conformity with existing provisions, be applied to other objects.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.——*Message from the President of the United States to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, dated January 17th, 1806.*

In my message to both Houses of Congress, at the opening of the present session, I submitted to their attention, among other subjects, the oppression of our commerce and navigation, by the irregular practices of armed vessels, public and private, and by the introduction of new principles, derogatory of the rights of neutrals, and unacknowledged by the usage of nations.—The memorials of several bodies of merchants of the United States are now communicated, and will develope these principles and practices, which are producing the most ruinous effects on our lawful commerce and navigation.—The right of a neutral to carry on commercial intercourse with every part of the dominions of a belligerent, permitted by the laws of the country (with the exception of blockaded ports, and contraband of war) was believed to have been decided between Great Britain and the United States, by the sentence of their commissioners, mutually appointed to decide on that and other questions of difference between the two nations; and by the actual payment of the damages awarded by them against Great Britain, for the infractions of that right. When, therefore, it was perceived that the same principles were revived, with others more novel, and extending the injury, instructions were given to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of London, and remonstrances duly made by him, on this subject, as will appear by documents transmitted herewith. These were followed by a partial and temporary suspension only, without any disavowal of the principle. He has, therefore, been instructed to urge this subject anew, to bring it more fully to the bar of reason, and to insist on rights too evident, and too important to be surrendered. In the mean time, the evil is proceeding under adjudications founded on the principle which is denied. Under these circumstances the subject presents itself for the consideration of Congress.—On the impressment of our seamen, our remonstrances have never been intermitted. A hope existed, at one moment, of an arrangement which might have been submitted to; but it soon passed away, and the practice, though relaxed at times in the distant seas, has been constantly pursued in those of our neighbourhood. The grounds on which the reclamations on this subject have been urged, will appear in an extract from instructions to our Minister at London, now communicated.—TH. JEFFERSON.

BRUNSWICK.——*Petition of the Brunswickers to their Duke, dated Brunswick, Feb. 14, 1806.*

Most Illustrious Duke, Most Gracious Prince and Lord,——To your children, and all good Brunswickers, a most unaccountable rumour is in circulation. It is said——but may the all-bountiful Providence prevent its ever being realized; that the destiny which is now spreading over Europe, threatens us also! They say, what none of us can hear without trembling, and what none of us can express without turning pale, that the threatening destiny we alluded to before, is seeking to separate the happiest people on earth from its all-honoured, all-admired, and all-beloved Father; that it would give him other subjects who are not his children, and give us another prince who is not our father. They say too, that we shall cease to be the favourites of fortune, and the happiest of all people, governed with wisdom, mildness, and rectitude.—If this dreadful fate could be bought off with our blood, oh! how willingly, how joyfully, would we shed it to the last drop, to ensure to our children that enviable situation which we have hitherto enjoyed! But alone, what can our small number effect against the iron hand of that destiny, which has subjugated people an hundred times greater than ourselves, and which seems to threaten as if it would toss about all states like a shuttlecock? We can effect nothing by our arms; but only through God and your grace, our great and good father, can we possibly be saved. Before God,

therefore, we shall prostrate ourselves, anxiously crying, Preserve! Oh, preserve! what thou hast given us; the best, the most gracious, the wisest of all princes. To you we stretch our trembling arms and pray. Have mercy upon your children! Preserve yourself for them as long as Providence, moved by our prayers, shall prolong a life so valuable to the world and us. You can do it, great and good father! for where is the country where the fame and high reputation of your governing virtues has not extended? Who is insensible to the very superior qualifications of your person, united with all the rare properties of your heart and mind? Who does not love and admire them? Where is it that the mere expressions of your will would not be received with that esteem and obsequiousness due to the very oracle of wisdom itself? One word from you, and even that fate which now decides upon the lot of nations shall pay homage to your will! One word from you, and your children, your happy, grateful children, shall be saved! Oh, speak this word, and speak it so clearly and intelligibly, that even the threatening destiny itself shall hear, and the world and posterity pay you that deference already due to the many rare examples you have shewn, to which you will add the most precious of all others; that of a prince who has no wish to extend his territory or increase his external greatness, but only desires to preserve the happiness of his legitimate subjects.—These traits of true princely greatness, history will preserve for you, as the most beautiful and costly of all diadems. Adorned by your virtues, history will represent these to posterity as a source of admiration, and an example, which wise legislators and tutors will anxiously recommend to their pupils, and by virtue of which, they may, like your highness, attain to the highest degree of magnanimity. You, they will be emulous to imitate. Humanity, which owes you so many thanks, will be laid under peculiar obligations, for an example so necessary to our times; and your reign will, by these means, become the fairest, the most efficacious, and enviable of all others; being the dominion of the mind, the heart, and the moral world: not merely immortal in itself: but it will disseminate, all over the habitable globe, the genuine, though unobtrusive, reputation of a prince, in opposition to the childish and contemptible sing-song of flattery; and shew how to distinguish true greatness from the vanity of mere ambition.—To us, to whom Providence has been so gracious as to give such a prince, may our great and good father still remain our all; our just pride; our benefactor; the beautifier and the augmenter of our ameliorating situation, and flourishing commerce; our increasing intelligence; our emulative arts and sciences; our improved system of infantine education; our well-regulated public seminaries; our religious belief, and the freedom of the press; our wise laws, and their fatherly application. All these are thy works, dear father of the country! And for their preservation for our children, we shall again thank you, while intoxicated with delight, and with weeping eyes, thanking God also from the bottom of our hearts, with our uplifted arm, trembling with joy, we offer you the most free and unsullied homage ever yet offered by man; that of hearts deeply affected and scarcely able to contain their happiness. For it is our highest pride, our most anxious wish, that so long as we live; yes, and if possible, beyond the grave, in our children and their latest descendants, to pay no allegiance but to you and your princely posterity, and most sensibly to continue to subscribe ourselves, with the most unfeigned devotion, the most happy, grateful, and obedient children of our great and good father. (Signed) ALL THE BRUNSWICKERS.

VIENNA.——*Proclamation of the Emperor of Austria, dated Vienna, Feb* 1, 1806.

I have given peace to my good and faithful people. My resolutions have united with their wishes. I renounced all hopes of a change in the fortune of war, to banish with promptitude all the dangers and sufferings to which my flourishing country, and even the heart of the monarchy, my capital, and residence were exposed. The sacrifices are great, and they were with difficulty wrung from my heart; but they could not stand in competition with the welfare, the domestic and civil welfare, of millions. For these I made the sacrifice; and I expect my indemnification in the blessings which are promised to my people by the return of peace. I know no other happiness than that of my people; and no glory superior to that of the father of those people, who in loyalty, unshaken fidelity, and disinterested love to their sovereign and their country, give place to no nation in Europe. The fair fame of their national character has exacted an unwilling tribute of esteem, even from the enemy; but in my heart they have fixed a monument which time itself will not be able to destroy. Under these emotions, I returned to my residence, in the circle of my loyal and estimable citizens and inhabitants, and to the resumption of the direction

of my affairs. The wounds inflicted by the war are deep: several years may be necessary to heal them, and to obliterate the impressions inflicted by the sufferings of this unfortunate period. The administration of the state has greater, and duties more difficult than ever to fulfil: and they will fulfil them: but they have at the same time stronger claims than ever upon the co-operation of all classes, for the laudable purpose of restoring the vigour of the interior, by disseminating the true culture of the mind, and animating the national industry in all its branches, through the restoration and increase of the national credit; and by these means to establish the monarchy upon that basis which the variable fate of the states of Europe has rendered necessary. Every moment of my life will be directed to this object, and devoted to the improvement of the welfare of the noble and good people who are dear to me as the children of my affection. United by the mutual obligations of reciprocal confidence, and the cordial love of my subjects, I shall only believe I have done enough for Austria, as a prince and a father, when its prosperity is again secured; when the sufferings of the citizens are forgotten, and nothing remains alive but the remembrance of my sacrifices, your fidelity, and your exalted and unshaken patriotism.—— FRANCIS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Russian official Account of the Battle of Austerlitz, from the Petersburg Journal of Feb. 2, 1806.*

Troppau, Jan. 25.—The issue of the battle of Austerlitz has been so well confirmed by its consequences, that it is almost incredible how France could publish such extravagant and untrue relations of that affair. All Europe, and the Russian nation in particular, justly expect a relation on our part. The love of truth alone, and the wish to adduce none but well-authenticated facts, have hitherto prevented the appearance of this relation. In the mean while, it is necessary to correct some of the statements of the French bulletins, particularly the 30th, and to lay them before the public.—General Savary spoke with two persons only belonging to the Emperor's suite; and, excepting these, he only saw some Field Adjutants, who had brought dispatches from their chiefs, or were in waiting to transmit orders to them.—The Chief of the French nation might not have derived any pleasure from the conversation of Prince Dolgorucky; but he at the same time forgot that the Russians did not belong to those nations who sought his protection.—The number of the Allied Army, as stated in the Bulletins, "was "105,000 men, viz. 80,000 Russians and "25,000 Austrians, and the French much "inferior."—But why were their numbers not given?—Besides the Reserve, which alone was said to be equal to an army, the enemy's force consisted of four large divisions of 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry each, commanded by a Marshal and two Generals of Division. The Combined Army, on the other hand, consisted of 52,000 Russians and 17,000 Austrians.—But this inferiority in number was the least misfortune in the Russian army: the scarcity of provisions was so great, that for nearly two days preceding the battle, they had nothing to eat. The horses were famished to such a degree, that those belonging to the artillery could no longer draw. Of course, in the battle, the artillery was of little use, excepting in those stations where it was at first planted. The total failure of provisions and forage was alone sufficient to prevent our maintaining our post any longer at Olmutz, or to take another station further in the rear. These circumstances urged the necessity of the battle, the happy result of which could only be expected from the valour of the troops.—The Imperial Guard, of which it is said in a Bulletin, that it lost all its colours, are still in possession of them, and have taken one pair from the enemy. The Combined Army, it is said, lost 15,000 killed and 20,000 prisoners. Do they include among these the 20,000 said to have been drowned?—After so many forced marches, and so much fatigue and hunger as had been sustained, with the sickness consequent thereunto; after the affairs upon the Danube and in Moravia; of the whole Russian army there is not a deficiency of more than seventeen thousand men. But, were the loss as considerable as the Bulletin has pretended, why was not the Russian army pursued, as that Bulletin falsely asserts? On the contrary, the Russian army kept the field till the next morning. The armistice was not concluded, but with the Emperor of Germany, at whose particular desire the Russians first commenced their retreat, and which was also effected in good order and without loss, notwithstanding the French partly assert, that during the negociations with Austria, the French army prosecuted its victories. To enhance the glory of this day, the French Bulletin says, that the French Guard (the reserve corps) took no part in the battle. The same Bulletin however afterwards asserts, that when one French battalion was broken by the Russian Guard, Buonaparte ordered Marshal Bes-

sieres to advance, and that the Imperial Guards on both sides immediately came to action.—The French Bulletins abound with false statements, over which the pretended noise and distraction, occasioned by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon, and a conflict between 200,000 men, throw but a flimsy covering. Can it possibly serve the interests of a great general to sanction such reports? Can he really stand in need of such means as these to increase that military glory, which is not denied him? Posterity will do justice to the truth.

FRANCE.——*Speech of the Emperor Napoleon, on the opening of the Legislative Body. March* 3, 1806.

Gentlemen, the deputies from the departments to the legislative body; gentlemen, the tribunes, and the members of my council of state.—Since your last session, the greatest part of Europe has entered into a coalition with England. My armies have never ceased to conquer, excepting when I ordered them to combat no longer. I have avenged the rights of the feeble states, oppressed by the strong. My allies have increased in power, and in consequence. My enemies have been humbled and confounded; the House of Naples has irrecoverably lost its crown; the whole of the Peninsula of Italy forms a part of the Great Empire. I, as supreme head, have guaranteed the sovereign, and the constitutions that govern the different departments.——Russia only owes the return of the wreck of her army to the advantages of the capitulation which I granted it. Able to have overturned the Imperial Throne of Austria, I have confirmed it. The conduct of the Cabinet of Vienna will be such as will prevent posterity from reproaching me for any want of foresight. I have yielded an entire confidence to the protestations which have been made to me by its Sovereign. Besides, the high destinies of my crown do not depend upon the sentiments and dispositions of foreign courts. My people will always support my throne against all the efforts of hatred or jealousy; no sacrifice will be painful to them to secure that first interest of the country.—Bred in camps, and in camps that have always been triumphant, I ought to acknowledge that, in the late events, my soldiers have exceeded my expectations. It is pleasing also to me to declare, that my people have also fulfilled the extent of their duties. In the heart of Moravia, I never ceased for an instant to experience the effect of their love and enthusiasm Never have they given me any marks of their attachment, which have penetrated my heart with sweeter emotions.—Frenchmen! I have not been deceived in my hopes. Your love, more than the extent and the riches of your territory, constitute my glory. Magistrates, clergy, citizens, all have shewn themselves worthy of the high destinies of that admirable France, which, for two ages past, has been the object of the leagues and the jealousies of its neighbours. My minister of the interior will inform you of the events which have taken place in the course of the year. My council of state will lay before you plans of laws to ameliorate the different branches of the administration. My ministers of finance, and of the public treasury, will lay before you the accounts which they have presented to me. You will perceive by them the prosperous state of our finances. Since my return, I have been incessantly occupied in giving to the administration that spring and activity which give life to the extremities of this vast empire. My people will have no new burdens to bear, but new plans will be proposed to you, respecting the system of the finances, the bases of which were established last year. I intend to diminish the immediate impositions which bear upon the land alone, and to replace a part of these charges by indirect duties.—— Through the elements we have lost some ships, after an engagement imprudently commenced. I cannot too much praise the greatness of soul, and the attachment which the King of Spain has shewn in these circumstances for the common cause. I am desirous of peace with England. On my part, I shall never retard that moment. I shall be always ready to conclude it in adopting, for its bases, the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens.—Gentlemen, deputies to the legislative body, the attachment you have shewn to me, the manner in which you have seconded me in the late sitting, leave me no doubt of your assistance. Nothing shall be proposed to you, but that which is necessary to guarantee the glory and safety of my people.

FRENCH ANNUAL EXPOSÉ, *at the Opening of ths Session of the Legislative Body at Paris, March* 3, 1806.

Messieurs the Deputies of the Legislative Body, I am charged by his Majesty the Emperor to give you an account of the state of the empire during the past year.—Its destinies had just been fixed on an immoveable basis; a ceremony, the recollection of which will form an epoch in its annals, had raised the Chief of the State, and his august family, to the dignity which the wishes and the wants of France required, when you last year met in this

place, which was consecrated by his presence. In the midst of you shone the first rays of that immortal lustre, with which the homage of the people, and the benediction of Heaven, have invested him, a happy omen for the labours you were about to undertake. Accordingly, your operations have answered his expectation, for they have all been useful. Love for the public weal, and the inspiration of genius, have guided your steps, and the unity established in the empire, and so solemnly proclaimed, has appeared to infuse still more harmony into your sentiments and your deliberations.—The Emperor, in his turn, had announced to you, that he looked upon his new honours as a great debt. To acquit himself of this debt, every moment of his life has been devoted. You know whether he has fulfilled his promises, and how far he has surpassed your expectations; you know with what events, perhaps you will say with what prodigies, a year, scarcely elapsed, has teemed. These, I will recapitulate, without pretending to give a complete account of them, or to describe their immense results. Europe, still motionless with astonishment and terror, and France, transported with admiration and love, render it unnecessary for me to say what I should in vain attempt to express.—Scarcely were your labours concluded, when the Emperor resolved to visit a part of France. If he were every where greeted with the most lively and the most unanimous testimonies of public affection; if the inhabitants of the city and of the country, ran to meet him, offering the homage of their gratitude and of their love, he has not experienced a pleasure less grateful to his heart, in beholding, with his own eyes, the results of an Administration, incessantly animated, for the last six years, by the most generous solicitude for the welfare of the people, and the restoration of public order. He has seen the traces of our misery effaced, and their memory of them almost extinguished; the laws respected, the Magistrates zealously devoted to their duty, morals improved, religious ideas honoured, French urbanity restored to its former delicacy. If some ameliorations still remain to be effected, they were not such reparations as succeed great disasters, but improvements which belong to a period of tranquillity and of prosperity; yet the Emperor wished to be made acquainted with them, and to accomplish them. He sent for all those who, by their functions, or their intelligence, were capable of seconding his views; admitted all those who had favours to solicit; gave a favourable reception to their demands; provcked and listened to their observations; rewarded services; inspected, in person, the minutest details; and, wherever he went, he left, in the measures of his sublime wisdom, durable monuments of his passage.—Troyes was first honoured with his presence, and obtained his first bounty; this bounty promises an existence worthy of its ancient celebrity. The project of a navigation of the Seine, by the same vessels, from Paris to Chatillon, not far from its source, is conceived; the details of it are completed. The improvement of that of the Saone is projected; the towns which it bathes are receiving embellishments; the quays of Chalons, Tournus, and Macon, are to be improved and enlarged. Macon will have a cathedral erected within its walls, more beautiful than that whose destruction it regrets; the Emperor contributes to this edifice a considerable sum from his private revenues. The Seine, rendered navigable, will be a new benefit for the Department of the Saone and Loire; the Department of L'Ain awakes at the sight of its Sovereign, who vivifies every thing, and who manifests an ardent desire to increase its inpustry, and to correct the insalubrity of a portion of its territory.—Lyons, already loaded with the bounties of him who rebuilt its edifices, and re-peopled its manufactories, has no further wishes to form, and is anxious only to pour forth its just transports to the deliverer whom it loves. But the solicitude of the Emperor, for this capital of French industry, is not exhausted; and when his subjects are filled only with gratitude, his eye discovers farther means of accelerating the progress of a prosperity continually increasing since the commencement of his reign. The southern provinces of the city will be rendered salubrious; the Rhone will be restrained within its banks, and brought nearer to the city, which it seems inclined to abandon; wise regulations secure fidelity in the manufactories, and the confidence of the foreign consumer, without injuring the liberty of industry; rewards, decreed by the Emperor himself, redouble the emulation of the workman; a drawing-school will insure the improvement of the art. Lyons, communicating with the sea towards the South, very soon with the Rhine by the Canal Napoleon; with the Ocean and the Channel by the Saone, the Loire, and the Seine; with Switzerland and with Piedmont, will become a mart, the happy situation of which cannot fail to render it the centre of a widely-extended commerce.—The ancient Savoy, long oppressed by the politics of its sovereigns, happy in being united by its laws to a country to which it always belonged by its manners, presents to the Emperor, hearts, whose fide-

lity has already been tried. Every thing is in motion in its vallies, formerly almost inaccessible, and which will speedily be opened to the most productive communications; but the great operations, of which it is the theatre, do not cause its minutest interests to be neglected. The palace of Chambery is rising again from its ashes; deserted edifices are restored to public utility; asylums are opened for indigence; resting-places are afforded to the traveller; the seeds of industry are scattered over a soil to which they appeared to be strangers.—The Emperor crossed the Alps, by the route which his genius had planned, and which his power has executed. Here a new scene presented itself to his view; Piedmont still exhibits some vestiges of a revolution, less terrible, but more recent than ours. It appears not to be entirely French, either by the sentiments which prevail in it, or by the advantages it enjoys. The Emperor, who had twice appeared under the walls of Turin, at the head of a victorious army, but did not enter that city, from respect for misfortune, or weakness, entered it for the first time; he there appeared as the father of his new children, without soldiers, without guards; attended only by the benefits he brought with him, greater and more powerful for this noble security. The affection to which he confided was displayed on every side. The Piedmontese shewed themselves worthy of the confidence with which he honours them. The public homage supplied him with a retinue; the wealthy individuals, in a separate body, pressed around him; unsteady administrations, borrowing light from his genius, proceeded with a more firm and more regular step; abuses are reformed, languishing commerce is revived, new markets are promised it; uncertainty is fixed; opinions are reconciled; those who, in difficult times, devoted themselves to the interests of France, are assured that faithful France will not forget their services; those who, impressed with the bounty of their former masters, thought that misfortune added to the duties of gratitude, learn that their new sovereign is too generous, to remember any thing, but that zeal, of which they have shewn themselves capable; services are rewarded, be their date what it may, and the new country to which it is annexed, acquits debts of the old. The principal families admitted to the Imperial Throne, diffuse around them the lustre of the honours they have received; the great land-owners, without hoping for the restoration of any privilege, have no exclusion to fear; every thing assumes the place assigned to it by wisdom and justice; Piedmont, formerly conquered by arms, is now naturalised by bounty.—Every part of Piedmont will owe to this period important institutions. Turin, Casal, Alexandria; Turin, formerly the residence of a court; Casal, the ancient capital of Montsurat, long naturalised by affections and by manners; Alexandria, around which, as on their pivot, have revolved great military operations. Turin, widowed of her kings, is consoled by an august promise; a brother of the Emperor will govern that beautiful country, and his well-known character guarantees the happiness which he will cause it to enjoy; he will reside at Turin; an amiable and brilliant court will restore to that city much more than it has lost; its magnificent palace will be the abode of beneficence and of the Graces. Formerly, a gloomy fortress, surrounded by enemies; now opened to France and Italy, of which it seems to be the bond, it is encircled only by amicable nations, and commerce and the arts hastening to resort to it, will lavish upon it their blessings. Casal, forgotten to this day, but zealously devoted to the chief of the empire, has greeted him with acclamations, and not uttered a single complaint. The Emperor has anticipated all its wishes, a lyceum, a bishop's see, and tribunals, restore life to that handsome city; concessions enrich it. These benefits will give a rapid development to the advantages it derived from its happy situation, from a favourable climate, and all the gifts of nature. Alexandria, proud of receiving within its walls the same brave men whose victory it beheld, and by whom it was conquered, celebrated their arrival as a triumphant festival; they were assembled within its walls. The Conquéror of Marengo was surrounded by the companions of his glory, in that plain which was the illustrious theatre of it. The prizes of valour were distributed by the same hands that directed their exploits; a monument is consecrated to the manes of those who sacrificed themselves for their country. The people of Italy, assembling to this spectacle, celebrated, with the French soldiers, the anniversary of a day which fixed their destinies, by confirming those of France. In such places the French will always be sure to conquer; there will be established the bulwark of the empire, there will rise the first fortified town in Europe. The rivers are turned to protect its circumference; the most profound combinations of art direct immense operations, on which more than twelve millions of francs have been expended. The Emperor has traced the plan, and followed all the details; it readers Alexandria the seat of all the great

military establishments; but, by assigning to it such high importance in war, he will confer upon it all the blessings of peace; he establishes its internal administration; he creates for it a commerce of staple and transit, destined for it by the rivers that bathe it, and the communications of which it is the centre; its plains, formerly desolated by banditti, are delivered from the scourge, by which, for ages, they have been devastated. The blessings which accompany the Emperor have been heard along the whole chain of the Apennines. Genoa has heard them—she has hastened to present to the Emperor her homage and her wishes—her wishes are to be French—she is half so already, by her affections, by her habits. The interest of her own existence commands her to be so entirely. Inclosed between the sea, which formerly nourished her and of which our enemies, who are her enemies, have shut the passages, and those mountains, of which our laws, wisely prohibitory, make a barrier for her, Genoa, in want of every thing, without troops, without laws, almost without government, solicited the honour of an adoption, which has united her to a great people, and admitted her to a share of the blessings which they enjoy, and, of the first of all, their government. This wish has been accomplished. It was that of all classes of citizens, and the union has been, to all, a benefit. The Emperor has consecrated it by his presence. It has been received with the transports which a deliverer has excited. Genoa, French, receives the commodities of Piedmont; furnishes France with the produce of its industry; lives and enriches itself by her; and promises her, in her turn, an increase of maritime force, and of commercial riches. Several of her citizens, already known to the Emperor, have received from him flattering distinctions. The French laws are introduced there, without hurting any of the interests which formerly flourished there. The public debt is consolidated; its territory aggrandized. It is divided into departments, and the department nearest to France has received a name which recals to the memory one of the first victories of the hero of France; one of the first crowns with which victory adorned that forehead, since so covered with laurels. The land on which this first laurel, the presage of so many immortal successes, was gathered, well deserved to be *French*. The benefit of this organisation is secured to Genoa by the choice of a grand dignitary, nominated to establish it.—Parma and Plaisance, long uncertain of their destinies, still subjected to Gothic institutions, have also possessed the Chief of the Empire, and date from his passage a code of laws, a system of administration, suited to this enlightened age. If false alarms have excited a momentary disturbance in some vallies of those states, prompt, but mild measures have soon restored order among the misguided shepherds, incapable themselves of assigning the cause of an agitation almost puerile, and which ceased, the moment it became the subject of serious attention. Meanwhile, Italy has changed its face, and the ancient kingdom of the Lombards is restored at the voice of Napoleon. Italy, reposing under the shade of the monarchy, from its long convulsions, has no longer any cause to envy France. The same breath animates it; the same power protects it; the same spirit forms its new institutions, accommodating them to its situation and its manners. Milan has saluted, in the name of its King, him, whom it had called its deliverer. Mantua received with transport, him, who was, under its walls, the vanquisher of five armies, sent to defend it.—Assembled at Castiglione, the French soldiers recal to their memory the successes of the army of Italy. In whatever part of Europe the genius may conduct them, who has so often led them to victory, they promise themselves still more brilliant successes. Italy is proud of receiving laws from a new Charlemagne, and fancies that she sees springing up with her ancient glory, all the prosperity which her climate and her soil entitle her to. A Prince, taught by his lessons, adopted early by his affections, as he has been since by his decrees, continues his work, in forming himself upon this model.—Italy attaches herself with enthusiasm to his steps. Displaying a new character, she hopes to prove, that her long weakness was the vice of her institutions, and not the fault of her inhabitants. France, who receives with avidity the detail of these grand creations, supposes the Emperor still occupied in accomplishing them, when he is already at the gate of the capital to give an account of the internal situation of the empire. In a few days after, England, astonished, hears resounding upon the coast of Boulogne, the report of the cannon which announces his presence. It is there, in the midst of the chosen troops of his army, in the last cares of these grand preparations, that he comes to taste repose. His long calculations are just on the point of execution: The army, impatient, fancies the moment arrived, which will recompense its long labours; but England, trembling not for its glory or its commerce, but for its very existence, has prepared upon the Continent, a powerful

diversion. She has sent forth a cry of terror; at this cry the Continent is in commotion. Its warriors have taken arms. From all parts, they advance against France. Already they menace her frontiers. Upon this unexpected aggression, the Emperor changes his plans of campaign; England triumphs in having poured upon the Continent all the evils which she had dreaded. Vain triumph! She has soon learned, that she has only precipitated ruin upon those whom she regarded as her supports, and dug an abyss that must swallow them up.—In a few days, the Emperor had carried his army from the banks of the Channel, to the banks of the Rhine. He had taken leave of the Senate, of the Nation. He had passed the Rhine. He was at Ulm, at Vienna, at Austerlitz. I will not attempt to recount exploits really wonderful, which can only be related in suitable terms, by him who has performed them. Exploits, which we all know; which we will teach our children, the moment they are capable to listen to them; which our grandchildren will relate with pride, and which constitute, for ever, the glory of the nation, almost as exalted as its incomparable Chief. As Minister of the Emperor, I disappoint his intentions, in holding this language; but I am a *Frenchman*, happy to be so; and I am unable to speak coldly of him, who constitutes the glory, and the prosperity of my country.—I have commenced this sketch of so many events, at the æra of the coronation.

(To be continued.)

MR. PITT'S WILL.

"I owe Sir Walter Farquhar one thou-
"sand guineas, from Oct. 1805, as a pro-
"fessional debt. W. PITT."

"Twelve thousand pounds, with interest,
"from Oct. 1801, to Mr. Long, Mr. Steele,
"Lord Carrington, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord
"Camden, Mr. Joseph Smith; and I ear-
"nestly request their acceptance of it. I
"wish, if means can be found for it, of
"paying double the wages to all my ser-
"vants who were with me at my decease.
"W. PITT."

"I wish my brother, with the Bishop of
"Lincoln, to look over my papers, and to
"settle my affairs. I owe more than I can
"leave behind me. W. PITT."

Appeared personally, William Dacres Adams, of Great Queen-street, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, Esq. and William Huskisson, of Saint James's-place, in the same county, Esq. and severally made oath, that they knew and were well acquainted with the Right Honourable Wm. Pitt, late of Downing-street, Westminster, in the same county, deceased, for several years, before and to the time of his death; and also with his manner and character of hand-writing and subscription, having frequently seen him write, and also write and subscribe his name; and having now carefully viewed his name "W. Pitt," set and subscribed to the three several testamentary schedules hereto annexed, purporting to contain together the last Will and Testament of the said deceased. The first of the said testamentary schedules, containing the words following, to wit:—"I owe Sir Walter Farquhar one thousand guineas, from Oct. 1805, as a professional debt." The second of the said testamentary schedules, containing the words following, to wit: "£12,000 with interest from Oct. 1801, to Mr. Long, Mr. Steele, Lord Carrington, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Camden, Mr. J. Smith; and I earnestly desire their acceptance of it. I wish, if means can be found for it, of paying double the wages to all my servants who were with me at my decease." The third of the said testamentary schedules, containing the words following, to wit:—"I wish my brother, with the Bishop of Lincoln, to look over my papers, and to settle my affairs. I owe more than I can leave behind me." These deponents severally make oath, that they verily in their consciences believe, the name "W. Pitt," so set and subscribed to the said three testamentary schedules respectively, to be of the proper hand-writing and subscription of the said Right Hon. William Pitt, deceased. WM. DACRES ADAMS. W. HUSKISSON.

12th day of February, 1806.

The said William Dacres Adams and William Huskisson were duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit, before me, HERBERT JENNER, Surr.

Proved at London, the 27th day of February, 1806, before the Worshipful Herbert Jenner, Doctor of Laws, and Surrogate, by the oath of the Right Rev. Father in God, George Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and the Right Hon. John Earl of Chatham, the Executors, according to the tenor of the said Will, they having been first sworn duly to administer.——R. D. GOSLING, NATH. GOSLING, R. C. CRESSWELL, Deputy Registers.

The executors swore to the value of the property as under £10,000.

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